MICHAELHOUSE: 1969

MICHAELHOUSE
1896-1968

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MICHAELHOUSE OLD BOYS CLUB, 1969

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FOREWORD

FOR me it has been a great privilege and pleasure to write this brief foreword to the history of Michaelhouse. To have worked with seven of her nine Rectors and to have produced the tenth has been a unique experience. This justifies me in paying a warm tribute to the author Tony Barrett for his inspired work. A successful historian has to project himself into the past and recreate a forgotten stage and players so well that his readers will feel they are sharing with live characters their pioneer work. I am only one of hundreds who will agree that Tony's task has been well and truly done.

When 'Bok' passed away at his beloved Philpotts in Sussex in 1960, the Committee of the Old Boys' Club resolved at once that the story of Michaelhouse should be associated with a memorial to Charles Walton Hannah. The Board of Governors readily co-operated. This splendid account of the establishment and growth of our great school has resulted, recording for posterity the struggles of the early days under our founder Canon James Cameron Todd. His triumphant migration to Balgowan assisted by Hannah and many others makes fascinating reading. I rejoice that at last, seventy-three years after our founder began his work in three cottages in Loop Street, Pietermaritzburg, a worthy record of the school's progress is available.

KEN PENNINGTON

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Except for the chapters on Morgan and Norwood, this book is based on a thesis presented in part fulfilment of the requirements of the M.Ed. Degree of the University of Natal. The curious will find in the thesis a detailed bibliography: the purpose of this note is simply to indicate the main sources and to record my thanks to some of the very many people who contributed to this chronicle.

From the first, under the editorship of Dobrée, *S. Michael's Chronicle* was intended not simply for contemporaries but as a record for posterity. It was from this record that I drew most of the information about the activities at the school. But the *Chronicle* can rarely survey more than the surface. The Board Minutes and Rectors' Reports, which the Board of Governors kindly placed at my disposal, a few old Letter Books and the Minutes of the Old Boys' Club often probe deeper and at least look at the school from a standpoint different from the staff and boys who contributed to the *Chronicle*.

To set the story in some perspective, I had the advantage of a number of other histories of schools, particularly: R. F. Currey *St Andrew's College, Grahamstown* 1855-1955 (Blackwell, 1955); A. F. Hattersley *Hilton Portrait* (Shuter and Shooter, 1943); H. D. Jennings *The D.H.S. Story* 1866-1966 (D.H.S. and Old Boys' Memorial Trust, 1966); R. W. Kent *College* 1863-1963; and D. McIntyre *The Diocesan College, Rondebosch, South Africa: A Century of Bishop's* (Juta, 1950). Reports of the Director of Education for Natal and, especially for the story of Bishop's (Pietermaritzburg), the contemporary press (*The Natal Witness* and *The Times of Natal*) gave an official and a public view of schooling in Natal.

Local records are necessarily silent on the lives of the earlier Rectors before they came to Natal. I am therefore particularly grateful to a number of men who helped to fill in some gaps, notably: Lord Todd, Master of Christ's College (Todd's College); the Librarian of the College of St Mark and St John as well as Professor M. Hugh-Jones for information about Hugh-Jones; the authorities of Caius College, Uppingham and Glenalmond and Mr A. W. Brown (Brown's nephew) for Brown's earlier career; and the authorities of Jesus College and

Uppingham and Mrs E. Martin (Pascoe's niece) for information about Pascoe. It was singularly difficult to obtain biographical information about Todd until my brother, M. M. Barrett, visited his grave—to find the date of his birth! The verger chanced to mention Todd's daughters and a happy contact was thus established with Mrs J. Howard and Mrs M. Champion, who provided the information about their father's life after he left Natal.

One of the many pleasures of writing the story of Michaelhouse, indeed, was from establishing and re-establishing contact with the men (and women) associated with the school in one way or another. To have the frank and generous reminiscences and comments of four Rectors—W. F. Bushell, R. F. Currey, F. R. Snell and R. T. S. Norwood —was invaluable; to meet Bushell for the first time and to renew acquaintance with Currey and Snell and to talk to Norwood were extra pleasures. K. M. Pennington was most generous in putting his unrivalled knowledge of the school at my disposal. Old Boys, I discovered, do not rush forward with reminiscences of the best years of their lives, but some from every generation from C. F. Moor onwards responded warmly to my requests for information and, though they will only rarely recognise their contribution, without them I could not have attempted to convey the flavour of the school.

I am most grateful to the Old Boys' Club for sponsoring this project and to the Board for supporting it; and especially to the Old Boys' committee, under the chairmanship of George Boyes, for their patience and to the members who helped to prepare the work for publication. Finally, for advice and help throughout the enterprise, both the Club and I are greatly indebted to Messrs Shuter and Shooter, who placed their professional skill at our disposal.

A. M. Barrett

Pietermaritzburg.
December, 1968.

CHAPTER ONE

A Precursor of Michaelhouse

'THE two years at th' academy 'ud ha' done well enough, if I'd meant to make a miller and farmer of him, but he's had a fine sight more schoolin' nor *I* ever got . . . But I should like Tom to be a bit of a scholard, so as he might be up to the tricks o' these fellows as talk fine and write with a flourish.' And so Tom Tulliver was sent to be educated by a clergyman with the magic formula "M.A.Oxon" after his name.

When *The Mill on the Floss* was published (1860) there were many respectable millers and farmers in England who would have shared Mr Tulliver's opinion: schooling was not something accepted as part of the natural order of things but a possibility to be debated (if it was considered at all) in a serious family conclave. In the very next year, the Newcastle Commission reported on the state of education in England. It indicated that large numbers did not attend school at all and that most attended for no more than four years. Of a total of just over two-and-a-half million pupils, only thirty-five thousand were reckoned to be in public and endowed grammar schools; and, as a subsequent report showed (The Taunton Commission, 1868), many of these offered little more than an elementary education. Education was nevertheless a lively issue. Elementary education was provided for the bulk of the children, chiefly by the Anglican 'National' schools, and the famous Act of 1870 provided for local boards to make education compulsory. Moreover, efforts were being made to broaden the curriculum, both in elementary schools—where the three Rs predominated and the fourth (Religion) aroused controversy—and in grammar and public schools. The Clarendon Commission drew attention to the narrowly interpreted classical education which meant that 'much (time) is absolutely thrown

away' and boys left at the age of 19 unable to write correct English; and public schools—those not receiving state aid or being run for private profit—were not only being reformed through the influence of men like Arnold of Rugby and Thring of Uppingham but were also proliferating to cater for the needs of the rising middle class.

In South Africa, the situation was not very different, except that whereas in England elementary schools were nearly all denominational, here they were generally the responsibility of local committees, aided, as in England, by government grants. The main effort was to provide elementary education, and though the country districts were much less well catered for than the towns, the numbers in school were steadily increasing, and important laws were passed by both the colonies and both the republics in the period 1865-1875 to regularise the relations between Government and the schools. As in England, many children were educated in private establishments, often claiming the grandiose title of 'academy' and run, like one in Harrismith, by a clergyman. With the exception of Natal, schools which provided secondary education were invariably denominational or trust establishments. In the Cape there were, among others, the two Anglican 'Colleges', the Diocesan College at Rondebosch and St Andrew's at Grahamstown, founded in 1849 and 1856 respectively and both, from 1875, enjoying, by virtue of their collegiate status, a special subsidy from public funds for 'higher education'. Natal was exceptional in that there were already two *government* high schools by 1870: that in Pietermaritzburg founded in 1863 and subsequently known as Maritzburg College; and that in Durban founded in 1866. This difference may have had a bearing on the fortunes of the first Diocesan College for boys founded in Pietermaritzburg in 1871. Yet in some respects the time was favourable.

The European population of Natal was small, just over 14,000, but the economy was beginning to pick up as a result of the 'overberg' trade to the diamond fields. Pietermaritzburg was, moreover, the seat of Government, with a relatively high proportion of civil servants likely to appreciate the advantages of a 'grammar school education'. It was also a garrison town, like Grahamstown, and regiments were good for trade and education as well as security.

There was, however, a major obstacle to the successful launch-

ing of a Church school in Natal which the brother schools in the Cape had not had to overcome, at least when they were struggling for recognition. Bishop Colenso regarded his missionary work among the Zulus as 'his most important duty' and his achievements in African education were of incalculable value. Although he inspired the foundation of 'Dean Green's Grammar School', he did not take the same measure of interest in it as Gray in Cape Town and Armstrong in Grahamstown did in their foundations, and the Colenso controversy proved too much for the school. When Bishop W. K. Macrorie was consecrated Bishop of Maritzburg in 1869, therefore, he had a seriously weakened Church to support his educational plans. Court decisions had awarded the temporalities of the Anglican Church in Natal to Colenso as Bishop, so that Macrorie's diocese, which was coterminous with Colenso's, was now 'divided largely into clergy without churches and churches without clergy'. Macrorie nevertheless felt that an urgent necessity was the provision of denominational education for the young colonists 'especially for the upper and middle classes, who must be thought of as the most influential element either for or against the Church' (as a report to Synod put it), and two schools were soon founded: St Mary's at Richmond, for girls, which subsequently became St Anne's; and Bishop's College, which was the precursor of Michaelhouse although its life was short.

The details of the story of Bishop's College are somewhat obscure, but there was clearly enthusiasm in the Diocesan Synod of 1870 about the prospects of having a grammar school 'under the supervision of the Church'. A resolution welcomed all proposals suggested, but the Synod 'would specially urge the great need for a grammar school', and it hoped that it would have provision for boarders. It seemed then that the school was about to start, for a Graduate of the University of Cambridge was expected shortly from England. But there is no record of the school's functioning until 1872, when the Superintendent of Education reported that the numbers at Maritzburg College had risen from 29 to 40 in spite of 'two new boarding schools of the secondary class—the Rev. W. O. Newnham's school at Hilton, and the Rev. C. C. Prichard's in Pietermaritzburg'.

Charles Collwyn Prichard had won an exhibition to Brasenose, Oxford, where he graduated in 1869. After two years as curate in

Rugby, he was appointed Chaplain to the Bishop of Maritzburg and Warden of Bishop's College. The school was well placed, opposite the Bishop's residence in Loop Street and at the fashionable end of the town near the garrison at Fort Napier. The property was presumably rented for the first year or two, but in 1873 W. Lloyd sold it to the trustees of the College, P. C. Sutherland, D. B. Scott and C. H. Dickinson. The deed stipulated somewhat optimistically, if not naively, that the College was 'to consist of a body of Students under the care of a Warden in Priests Orders the said Students to profess *ex animo* the Catholic Faith and to live religiously together studying Theology, the Latin Tongue, Mathematics and all else appertaining to sound learning and for the carrying out and fuller explication of such objects' as the statutes of the Diocesan Synod laid down.

How 'religiously' they studied together may be doubted. If 'Natalian', writing in 1897 about this period, is to be believed, boys took even less naturally to schooling than their descendants: the sjambok and—less effectively—prizes were almost the only incentives to attend to lessons, and masters were liable to a variety of ignominious pranks, among which a bucket resting on a door ready to pour its contents on a master was a relatively mild diversion. It is likely, too, that attempts to establish grammar school academic standards were frustrated by the inadequate grounding which pupils had received. As late as 1890, Mr Gardner, an inspector from England, reported of the government high schools that 'nearly all the work is elementary in character and nine-tenths of their pupils never begin higher education'. Bishop's nevertheless met a demand for denominational 'grammar' schooling, for in 1873 there were 43 boys enrolled (Maritzburg College had 53 and Hilton had 73), and it received a government grant of £50 which rose the following year to £100.

The first Warden did not, however, stay the pace of colonial schoolmastering long: in 1874 he returned to parochial work in England, and was replaced by 'Mr George', who was, like some others of his time 'found wanting', and gave up almost immediately. The Rev. Herbert Daniel Moore was his successor, under whom numbers remained static, although those at both Maritzburg College (34) and Hilton (56) dropped considerably. But Moore lasted no longer than Prichard and in August 1877, perhaps after an interregnum, William Lamprey Bowditch, 28th wrangler of Clare, Cambridge, came from parochial work in London—at

'the urgent request of the Bishop', he later asserted—to be Bishop's Chaplain and Warden of the College.

When Bowditch explained the closing of Bishop's College, he asserted that there were only ten dayboys and ten boarders when he took over; but the *Blue Book* of 1877 gives 42 as the number on the role and 27 as the average attendance for the year and certainly the grant (which was based on numbers) remained at £100. At all events, 1877 was a crucial year for the College. The fees and private contributions recorded in the *Blue Books*, having been comfortably over £1,000 hitherto, now were only about £600, and Bowditch had to draw two years of his salary as Theological Tutor (£75 p.a.) to buy the necessary furniture for the school. The government grant was, moreover, withdrawn from private secondary schools at the end of 1877 because they were 'supported by the well-to-do classes' and it was government policy to establish its own high schools firmly—in the competition among high schools, Maritzburg College numbers had gone down to 25. It is impossible in the absence of records to do more than guess at the numbers at Bishop's in its last few years, but as about sixty 'lads' were present at the supper to mark its closure in 1880, one may suppose that the numbers at the school remained over twenty and were perhaps as many as forty (the 'lads' presumably included old boys of the College). If, then, boys were still attending, why did the school close?

Financial difficulties were undoubtedly the immediate cause. There were bond charges, salaries for a part-time and a full-time assistant, wages and—most important—boys to be fed. The Zulu War of 1879 pushed up prices, particularly in the garrison town. And so, by 1880, Bowditch found the institution £700 in debt. 'Found' is probably the right word, for Bowditch claimed with disingenuous candour in the subsequent controversy that he was 'so utterly without business capacity of any sort' that he had 'steadily refused to be in any way responsible financially'. In July 1880, the Trustees put the property up for auction, in the hope of making money out of the increased value of land consequent on the development of the railway towards Pietermaritzburg. But the upset price of £3,000 was not achieved, and the sale was withdrawn. Although the school re-opened for the new term, it struggled for only a month longer and on 16th September a supper, attended by the Bishop, Dean Green, Canon Deedes (who was also an assistant master) and Dr Sutherland, formally

marked the closure of the institution. Although it was the end of the institution, the Diocesan records continue to refer to the 'Warden of Bishop's College' for several years, even after the land belonging to the Trust was sold in 1882 to Eliza Jane Usherwood for £2,500. (She, in turn, donated it to St Anne's so that its link with diocesan education continued.)

Financial difficulties alone, however, are not sufficient to account for the closing of the school. St Andrew's, Grahamstown, was facing similar difficulties at almost exactly the same time: their (much more generous) government grant was withdrawn in 1880, a controversy led to a heavy drop in numbers from 91 to 17 and the following year the headmaster resigned; but, in spite of the withdrawal of the garrison from Grahamstown in 1880, St Andrew's survived. St Andrew's had the advantage of a genuine 'college' section, preparing students for survey and B.A. examinations, and this helped to carry the 'school' section, especially when the government grant was renewed in 1882. But it seems, too, that St Andrew's enjoyed a wider measure of public and clerical support than Bishop's College did.

The *Times of Natal* paid tribute to the zeal of Canon Bowditch for education and *The Natal Witness* commented affectionately on the 'touching' ceremony when the Old Boys presented Bowditch with a farewell gift inscribed 'to our friend and teacher'. Certainly Bowditch was an active man, participating fully in the life of the town, and he subsequently became, for a short time, an assistant at Maritzburg College under R. D. Clark, at a salary of £250—more than three times as much as his salary had been as Theological Tutor. Relations with Hilton and Maritzburg College seem to have been amicable enough too. A football match was arranged between Hilton and Bishop's on the Oval in May 1880. *The Natal Witness* thought it remarkable that Hilton should have won with seven touch downs in spite of the handicap of a 'strange ball' and strange rules, but a correspondent disputed both the number of touch downs and the reasoning. The headmasters were obviously unaffected by the dispute, for soon afterwards Bowditch was one of the speakers at the Hilton Speech Day. Earlier in the year R. D. Clark had been one of the guests of honour at the Bishop's prize giving.

Bowditch was nevertheless a controversialist. Shortly before the College closed, he wrote a series of articles for *The Natal Witness* on the topical subject, 'Responsible Government', which,

though ostensibly informative, made clear where his sympathies lay, and he spoke in favour of responsible government at a public meeting (in which he argued, incidentally, that responsible government would improve the lot of the natives). He aroused at least one lady's ire, too, by his publicly-expressed opinion that women should retiringly confine themselves to work about the house. These issues would hardly have affected support for a diocesan school, but they indicate the tone he was likely to adopt on a much more relevant issue: the schism in the Church occasioned by the Colenso dispute.

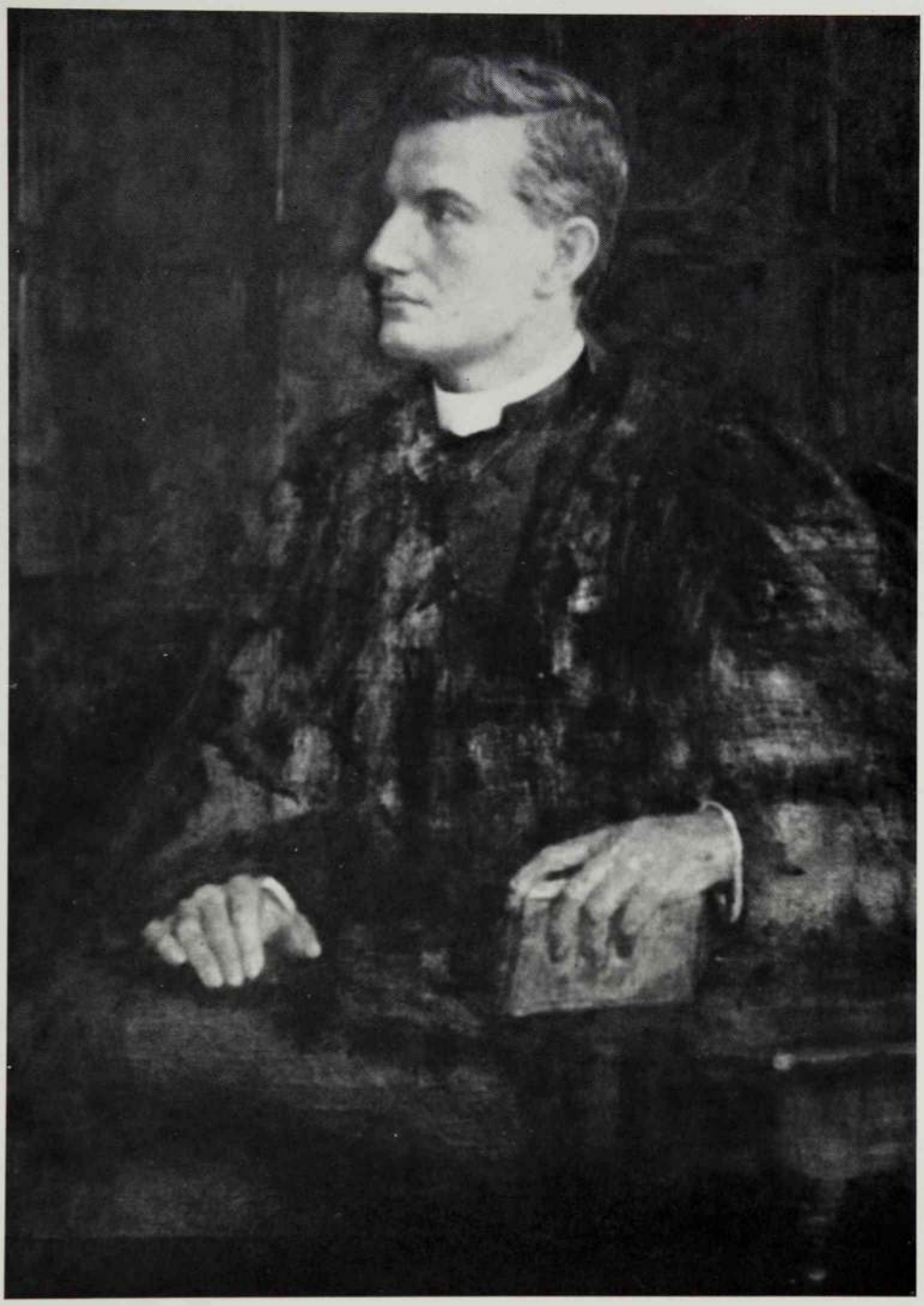
It is no doubt true, as Brookes and Webb put it in their *History of Natal*, that 'by 1873 it was clear that Colenso had already lost the battle. He was decreasing and the Church of the Province of South Africa was increasing.' But the issue seems to have become transformed into a clash between 'high-church' and 'low-church' factions, and on this issue, Bowditch's attitude was unequivocal. In defending himself against the charge of 'ultra-ritualism' he wrote, after Bishop's College had closed, 'Within her pale (i.e. the Church of England), Protestantism is intellectually contemptible, morally impotent and spiritually dead.' Since he felt that part of the reason for the collapse of Bishop's College was lack of support from the clergy, it seems likely that he attempted to make the College reflect the view of the Church that he believed the clergy ought to have. Arguments on vestments and ornaments, sacerdotalism and tractarianism now seem unreal; but in the 1870s they aroused strong passions. When there was little enough support for secondary education anyway, especially if it was based on the classical curriculum, a diocesan college was unlikely to be able to withstand the additional strain of sectional dissension over the type of religious education provided in the school. Although Hilton College was also under a clergyman, Newnham carefully tried to avoid unequivocal commitment to a particular party within the Church, and his successor in 1878 was not in orders.

The attempt to establish a diocesan school for European boys in Natal therefore came to an end after only nine years. Bowditch, who was Dean Green's son-in-law, remained in Pietermaritzburg for a few years and then migrated to Melbourne, where he taught in a Church of England Grammar School. The buildings became for a time the home of the Victoria Club before reverting to diocesan use as St Anne's. And the brave attempt was almost

forgotten. Yet it is possible that the experiment affected the fortunes of the future Michaelhouse.

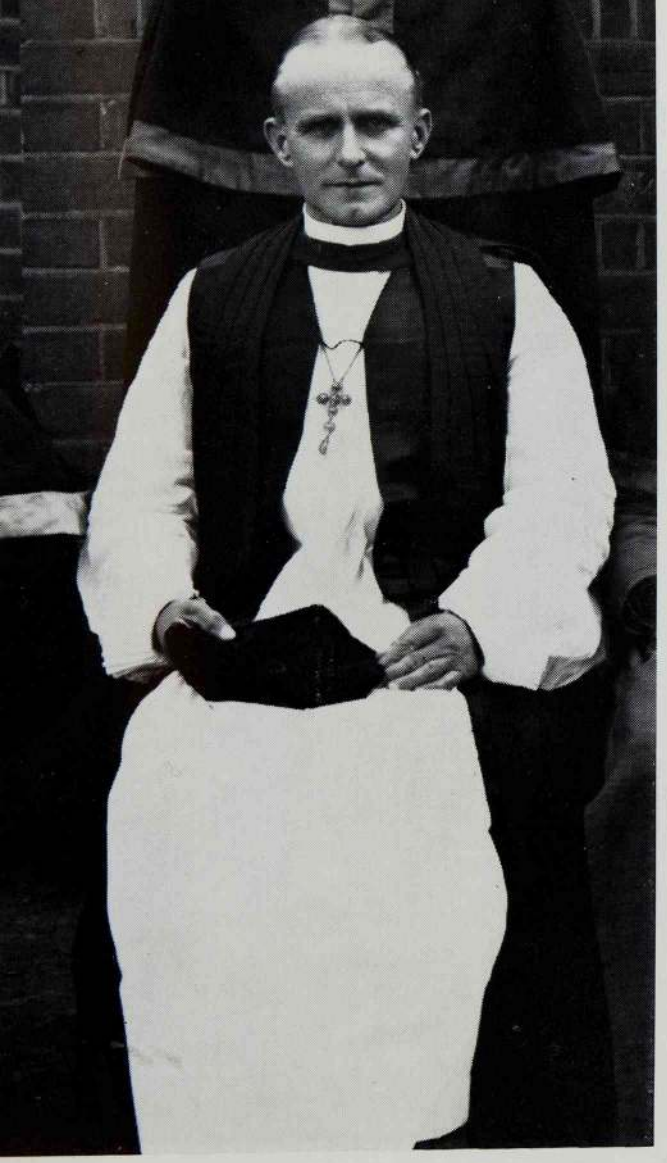
It is possible, for instance—although there is no direct evidence on the subject—that one reason why the diocese was at first reluctant to make Todd's foundation a diocesan venture was the failure of the first attempt. Todd had to prove that, among other things, a school associated with the Church of the Province of South Africa would attract pupils. Once this was established, moreover, the supporters of a diocesan link learned from their previous experience that financial responsibility must be more clearly defined.

It is, moreover, significant that three of the most prominent figures in early Michaelhouse history had been to school at Bishop's College: F. S. Tatham and Sir George Leuchars, generous benefactors and governors, and W. L. Whittaker, secretary to the board of governors for many years.



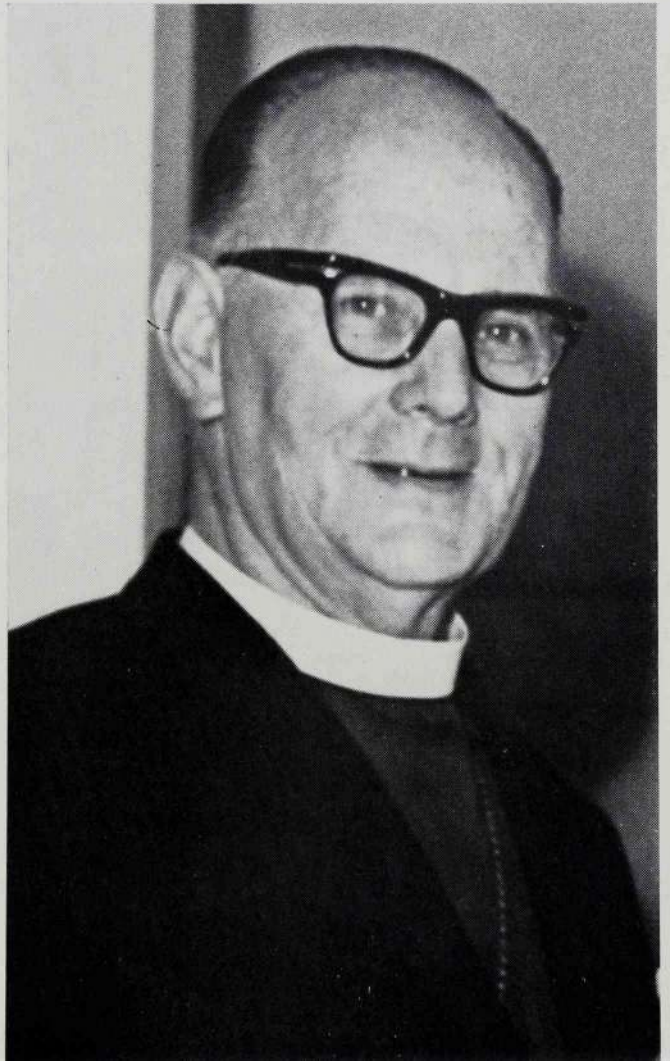
CANON JAMES CAMERON TODD
Founder and Rector 1896-1903 (*From a Painting*)

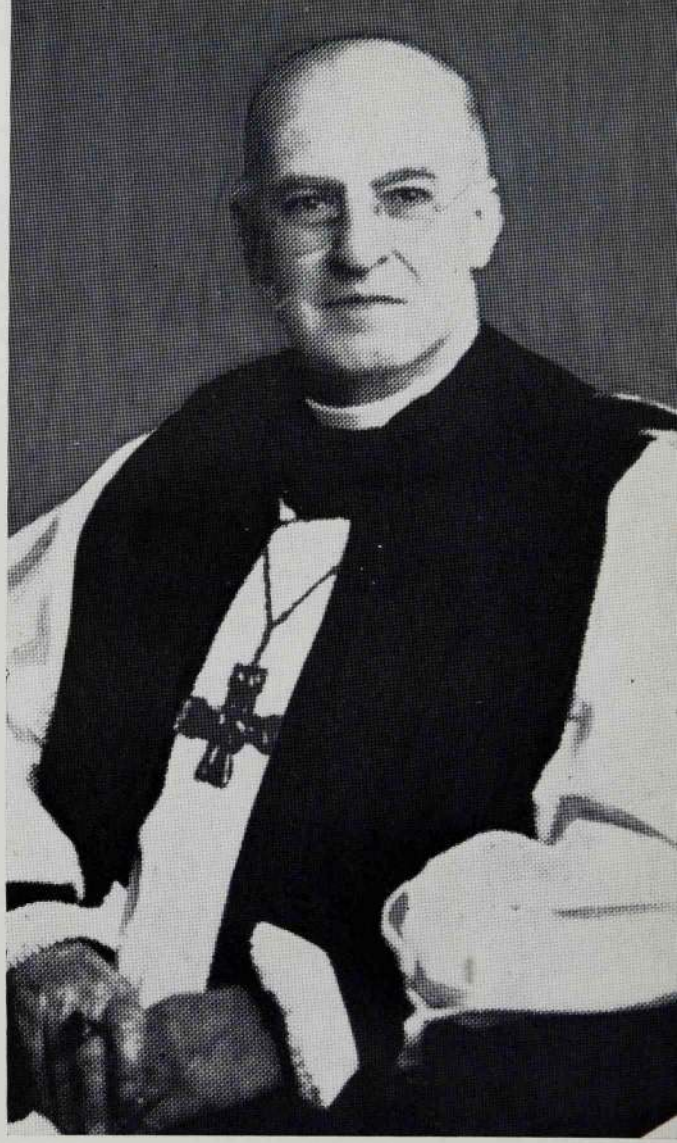
Board Chairmen



Rt. Rev. Frederick Samuel Baines, 1901-1928

Rt. Rev. Thomas George Vernon Inman, 1951-





Rt. Rev. Leonard Noël Fisher, 1928-1951

CHAPTER TWO

Todd: Private Venture or Diocesan School 1896-1900

BY the mid-nineties, much had changed. Victorian imperialism was enjoying the task of bearing the White Man's burden further into the continent of Africa and was, for a brief spell, more assertively reluctant to share the burden with others; and the Public School seemed almost expressly designed to make the burden-carriers (or at least their directors) capable, just and assured. Rhodes was Prime Minister at the Cape and a permanently red swathe from the Cape to Cairo seemed not impossible. On the other hand, Kaiser Wilhelm was beginning to be jealous of British sea power; Japan was rapidly over-running Korea with disconcertingly modern equipment; the U.S.A. was making protective—or possessive—noises over the American continent; and, in a small republic, a determined Kruger, no less self-assured than the best Etonian, was coming to grips with the gold-mining interests. It was the decade in which the *Jungle Books* and *Barrack Room Ballads* were published and the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* died; but it was also the decade in which Shaw's first plays were published and Wilfred Owen was born.

In Natal, too, although the colony was probably more clearly conscious of its Victorian characteristics, the decade saw important changes. Natal continued to be protected by Imperial troops and Pietermaritzburg remained a garrison town with the fashionable area centred on Government House; but Responsible Government was introduced in 1893, with Sir John Robinson as Prime Minister, and the ministry supported Rhodes's idea of an economic union. Pietermaritzburg still had the largest population at the beginning of the decade but was overtaken by Durban in 1896. General agriculture was the mainstay of the colony's economy, farmers numbering nearly four times the merchants, bankers,

legal and medical men; but trade with the goldfields was becoming vital, the coalfields of the north were beginning to be significant and sugar was now an important commodity. An outward sign of the more flourishing conditions was the City Hall in Pietermaritzburg, erected, burned down and re-erected in the nineties. It was, moreover, the decade in which the unhappy division in the Anglican Church in Natal was healed. Bishop Macrorie resigned in 1892 and on Michaelmas Day, 1893, the Rev. Arthur Hamilton Baynes was consecrated Bishop of Natal by the Archbishop of Canterbury. By 1899 he succeeded in getting nearly all the parishes to join the Church of the Province of South Africa and, having accomplished what he regarded as his main task, resigned the following year. His successor was Frederick Samuel Baines, whom he had brought out from England in 1893, together with James Cameron Todd. Without Todd, Michaelhouse would never have been born; without Baines, the school would probably have died in infancy.

Unfortunately very little is known about the personal life of the founder of Michaelhouse before he came to Natal, but there is enough to suggest that when he arrived in Natal at the age of 30 he already had a varied and in some respects very distinguished career behind him. He was born on 20th June 1863 in Rangoon and he had two sisters, of whom one became a medical doctor and a best-seller novelist, writing under the name of 'Graham Travers' towards the end of the century. His mother seems to have had a strong personality and distinguished bearing—at least one person remembers how her appearance in St Saviour's Cathedral caused the Pietermaritzburg ladies to reconsider seriously their view of a fashionable wardrobe. Todd himself was educated at the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and at Glasgow University, where he took a B.Sc. degree before teaching for a while, perhaps at Loretto, a Scottish Public School then beginning to establish a reputation. For a reason which remains tantalisingly obscure, he then came out to the Northern Cape and Bechuanaland, where Rhodes's Company had begun to take an interest, where diamond miners were somewhat restless and where the boundaries of Transvaal and British jurisdiction were imprecise. It was here that he was ordained deacon in 1887, serving as curate in Vryburg —a pioneer task, for the parish did not have a rector till thirteen years later. The same year he moved to Kimberley, remaining as curate for about a year. These years seem to have been crucial,

for he now returned to England to read theology at Christ's College, Cambridge, where he won the Carus Greek Testament Prize in 1890, took his degree with first class honours the following year and was elected Scholar of the College. He was ordained priest in 1892 in London, where he was attached to St John, Hammersmith. When, as Chaplain to Bishop Baynes, he came to join the small group of clergy in Natal—there were only 37 priests and deacons in the diocese belonging to both the Colenso and Macrorie groups in 1890—there was probably little thought of starting a diocesan school. But Todd was well equipped to take the lead if one should appear desirable; Bishop Baynes had been domestic chaplain to Archbishop Benson, a former and very distinguished headmaster of Wellington College; and Archdeacon Baines was deeply interested in education. Moreover Todd made a favourable impression on the public of Pietermaritzburg when, very shortly after his arrival, he preached a sermon at a special service to mark the opening of the first Responsible Parliament.

When Robert Russell, Superintendent of Education, surveyed Natal in the nineties, he looked back with justifiable pride over a period of great development in Natal education, for in the ten years prior to the founding of Michaelhouse in 1896, the numbers of pupils in schools inspected by the government doubled in each race group. But the provision of education was still imperfect in many respects. Probably between 10 and 20 per cent of European children did not go to school at all. The proportion receiving any secondary education was very small: of the schools catering for boys and supported or aided by public funds, only Maritzburg College and Durban High School went higher than Standard VII; and, apart from Hilton College, private schools for boys did not regularly have successes in the matriculation examinations. And whereas science had by now been accepted—sometimes grudgingly—as part of the school curriculum in England, it was still a peripheral subject in Natal, catered for in a separate 'School of Art, Science and Technical Instruction' to which boys from Maritzburg College, for instance, had to go for instruction in chemistry. Moreover—and this was the most important deficiency in Todd's eyes—the existing boys' high schools did not provide religious instruction of which an Anglican clergyman could then approve. It is therefore not surprising that Todd received considerable encouragement from many different sources when he contemplated founding a school. But, particularly in view of the

unhappy experience of Bishop's College, it was to be expected that the leaders of the Diocese of Natal would be chary of offering official support for such a venture.

Until April 1896, Todd—now a Canon—was attached to St Peter's Church, but he had private pupils and seems then to have devoted himself to canvassing support for a school from among farmers in particular. He intended to begin the school in town, with day scholars as well as boarders in order to attract numbers; but—according to C. W. Hannah—he planned to move to the country as soon as possible, away from the distractions of town life. (Among the 1896 'distractions' in Pietermaritzburg were *Charley's Aunt*, *A Woman of No Importance*, *The Wages of Sin*—a 'great domestic drama'—a circus—in which a representation of Dick Turpin's ride and a lion tamer were the chief attractions—and a promenade concert in the Market Hall.)

Encouraged by the Bishop and assisted in his business arrangements by Gerard Bailey, F. S. Tatham and others, Todd obtained a lease on two houses at 384 and 388 (now numbered 386) Loop Street with vacant lots behind them which could be used for playing fields and cadet drill. Later, another house (number 424), at the corner of Retief Street, was rented for additional dormitory accommodation. At first, however, Todd must have been very doubtful about the success of his venture, for there was only one name—C. F. Moor—on his books until shortly before the day he proposed to open, 5th August. Of the small group of fifteen originals, ten were boarders, and Todd had engaged two masters: Spencer Tryon, from London University, and H. C. Dobrée, B.A., a Channel Islander from Jesus College, Cambridge. In terms of numbers their task was enviable; in terms of the variety of their work, one can only admire the determination and zeal of all three men. Tryon, who had been teaching elsewhere in Natal, was the senior master (sometimes called headmaster) and struggled to teach several subjects, not seriously hindered in his discipline by an impediment in his speech, which earned him the name 'Shleggy'; and he successfully held the fort for Todd when the Rector went to England in 1899. Dobrée, a thick-set man, was indefatigable, not only teaching and taking some P.T. with a sergeant-major, but encouraging singing, conducting the Recreation Committee, lecturing on various aspects of Greek life and organising cadets. Todd owed a great deal to the enthusiasm of Dobrée for the school, for he also contributed financially

in the uncertain early days and long after he had left the school he took an active interest in its progress.

The inspiration and the determination behind the venture were essentially Todd's; and he had a clear idea of what he wanted the school to be. A man's 'tone, moral and spiritual as well as intellectual, is largely determined *for life* by his school', he wrote for the first issue of *St. Michael's Chronicle*. At the first prize-giving, on Michaelmas eve, 1897, he enlarged on this. On religion, he was unequivocal in his assertion that the boarders should receive religious instruction—'I can no more forfeit my right to teach the faith to those who (as boarders) are members of my household than a parent could alienate his rights and duties towards his children'—and even for dayboys he reserved 'the right to explain religious aspects of any question in any subject', though he would not insist on their learning the Catechism and attending Scripture classes. For this reason he laid down as a principle (later embodied in the first Trust Deed) that the Rector must be a man in Holy Orders. His conviction that secular and religious teaching go hand in hand perhaps influenced his choice of a title; but it is perhaps a sufficient reason that 'Rector' is not uncommonly used for the head of a school in Scotland.

Todd was equally convinced that the most essential features of a curriculum were the classics and mathematics, whose disciplinary virtues he praised. Those subjects which enable a boy to take a more intelligent interest in civic or practical life (like history and geography) were also valuable. These would help to make 'men of understanding, thought and culture', whereas the 'novel' subjects (shorthand, bookkeeping and so on), though admitted as extras, were educationally almost valueless. So strongly attached was he to the classical tradition that he would not enter boys for the Cambridge Local Examinations unless they included Latin and Mathematics—'by cutting out Shakespeare from our list of subjects, we have perhaps lessened our results, but we have increased their value'. In this, and in his ignoring experimental science, he was reflecting an earlier and, as we can see now, outdated view; but his insistence on the value of scholarship was as relevant then as it is today.

Not that he regarded scholarship and religious instruction as the only functions of the school. He was an enthusiastic supporter of rugby and the first addition to the staff was a Cambridge 'blue', J. C. A. Rigby. One does not know whether Todd agreed

with the first editor (Dobrée), writing in the *Chronicle*, that 'brain power has to be exercised . . . now that science exerts so great an influence' and that, by setting the blood freely in motion, rugby especially was beneficial to the brain. But he played rugby with the boys (it was not uncommon then for staff to be members of school teams) and the coincidental arrival of A. S. Langley at Maritzburg College in 1896 and Todd's foundation of Michaelhouse ensured the future of rugby in Natal schools, most of which then played association football. At the end of the first season of rugby in 1897, indeed, the *Chronicle* records, not very happily, that 'the game has been thoroughly ground into every Michaelhouse boy' despite some lack of success that season. Cricket, of course, also played a prominent part and the first match recorded ended auspiciously in an excitingly close win for Michaelhouse, who scored 106 for 9 wickets just on time, against a Maritzburg College score of 105 for 4 wickets, declared.

One may doubt whether Todd was entirely successful in establishing the academic standards he desired. For, though he certainly encouraged some boys in sound learning and it was not long before the first Old Boy (A. Findlay) was settling in comfortably at Cambridge, he found, like Clark and others of the time, that the boys lacked a background of traditional knowledge. To remedy this, he organised a series of lectures, chiefly on the classics and classical mythology, which breathe the spirit of classicism and academic learning, though one wonders how well the boys appreciated them.

On the whole, however, the boys' lives were very little organised in their spare time. Sport, it is true, was compulsory, but practices were somewhat irregular and rugby 'nines'—a modified form of the game, with teams of nine—provided much of the enjoyable exercise in the winter. There was also an active choral society and a less active debating society. But it was a long time before there was very much specific provision for extra-curricular activities. The boys were, however, brought effectively into the running of the school, helping with the *Chronicle* and running the embryonic library in particular; and, of course, prefects, of whom Still was the first Senior Prefect, were an integral part of the disciplinary arrangements, as these editorial lines indicate:

Be loyal, Michaelhusians all,
  Happy in Michaelhouse to be;
But doubly loyal Prefects call,
  Blest with responsibility.

Though the quarters were cramped and facilities rudimentary, Todd was able to evoke the loyalty of the boys. He maintained a dignified aloofness so that even the senior boys regarded him with awe and respect rather than affection; and he was sometimes scathing in his comments on the manners of 'colonial boys'. He was not, however, unbending. Some of the public thought it somewhat undignified for a Rector who, however young he was, played rugby regularly with the boys, and cricket occasionally. The story is told that when some boys, somewhat surprisingly, April Fooled him in a mild way, he retaliated by holding them in suspense in his study until noon. He then dismissed them with the remark that he had fooled them and opportunities for fooling were now over. He was, moreover, able to inspire young men with enthusiasm for the task of school-mastering.

His most remarkable success was with C. W. Hannah who had been in Natal for a short time for his health. Hannah was about to leave when Todd spoke to him about his vision of Michaelhouse and induced him to remain in Natal on the staff. Although Hannah's membership of the staff was intermittent, his interest in the school and the boys was abiding and in his 'Farewell Sermon' in 1930 the inspiration and vision of Todd comes out clearly.

In that sermon, Hannah links the name 'Michaelhouse' with Todd's conviction that religion and education go hand in hand (Michael representing religion and House symbolising education). Michaelhouse was one of the foundations out of which Henry VIII created Trinity College, Cambridge, and it is possible that Todd had this in mind when founding his school. Since Todd was not himself a member of Trinity College but of Christ's, and there was no direct connection between the original Michaelhouse and Todd's own college, one cannot be certain—but it is a sufficiently unusual name to make the explanation plausible. Perhaps, too, it was a compliment to Bishop Baynes, who had been consecrated on Michaelmas day. Todd possibly selected the colours with St John's College, Cambridge, in mind. At all events, the Eton suits were the school uniform for many years and were worn even on 'free bounds' at Balgowan. The school cap had a pair of scales and a scarlet and white band adorned the straw bashers. The coat of arms (St Michael triumphant over the dragon)was similar to that of the original Michaelhouse, and it and the motto (*Quis ut Deus*, the Latin version of Michael) were a natural selec-

tion to emphasise the association with St Michael, but the arms were not used except for honours. From the first year, Michaelmas was appropriately kept as the main festival of the year, the celebrations usually extending over two days and including, as a rule, a free day which boys used either to cycle in the country or to prepare for the impromptu concert, a cricket match (and a rugby match as well on one occasion), the prize-giving ceremony, evensong at the cathedral on Michaelmas eve and celebration of the Eucharist on Michaelmas morning.

Within two years of its foundation, the reputation of Michaelhouse was sufficiently established for numbers to have risen almost to 50, including boys from the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, which were, of course, independent republics. Yet the financial foundations were still insecure. Todd pressed in 1898 for the school to be adopted by the diocese so that it could expand, but the Bishop's absence delayed negotiations. In the meantime Todd had difficulty in retaining the lease on the Loop Street properties. There was even talk of Todd's replacing Clark as headmaster of Maritzburg College when Clark was having one of his periodic differences with the Education Department. But the religious issue and Clark's withdrawal of his resignation prevented this eventuality; and the bank was persuaded to allow the school to continue in its temporary home. And so Todd was able to assure the staff, who had been given provisional notice, that the school would be able to continue in 1899. Nevertheless, as long as the school remained a 'private venture', its very existence was bound to be precarious and the possibility of establishing a permanent home was remote.

Leading Anglicans recognised this and a committee established by Bishop Baynes with the double purpose of negotiating to transform Michaelhouse into a 'public' school governed by a permanent trust deed and of finding a suitable site and enough capital to provide a suitable home. The Bishop was an active member, the others being F. S. Tatham, C. F. Tatham, E. M. Greene, John Freeman, Henriques Shepstone and Todd himself, all of whom contributed to a fund to buy land. Archdeacon Baines was also a supporter of the scheme, though not initially mentioned among committee members. Several sites were investigated, mostly in the country but also on Town Hill and at Mountain Rise on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. The most promising one was at Camperdown, where they were offered the hotel at a reasonable

price; but when a water diviner could report only fairly optimistically in spite of an excellent lunch, they decided to continue their search. And then, in January 1899, when Todd was feeling frustrated by what seemed endless delays, everything began to fall into place. E. M. Greene worked out a scheme to purchase land from Walter Jaffray at Balgowan and Hannah and W. Pitcher (a great friend of Todd's and a lawyer) inspected the site. Though the hills were mostly bare, Hannah was particularly enthusiastic, regarding it as a propitious omen that the place had been named, by a tenant of his grandfather, after his family's Perthshire estate. Todd was equally impressed, for the site had all the openness he wanted, water seemed unlimited and there was a railway on the boundary. Mr and Mrs Jaffray donated 20 acres and the school bought 50 acres of the farm Anandale for £100. Messrs Kent and Price were employed as architects and work began on the foundations. Todd felt sufficiently confident of the future to leave for England, for although the Trust was not yet legally established, the school's foundations, literally and figuratively, seemed secure.

But this was 1899, and in October the country was plunged into war. To those at Michaelhouse it seemed an invigorating experience: the October *Chronicle* opens with the lines:

> Sound the clarions, fill the fife,
> To all the sensual world proclaim,
> One crowded hour of glorious life
> Is worth an age without a name.

But—quite apart from the bitterness and misery it caused in South Africa—the war seriously delayed the developments at Balgowan. When the contractors felt that deeper foundations were required than had been planned, it demanded some ingenuity to get approval for the additional expenditure, for the Rector and Archdeacon Baines were in England and three of the committee were besieged in Ladysmith. Undaunted, Bishop Baynes had a message heliographed to E. M. Greene reminding him and the others of their obligations to the school and though he received no answer, the building went ahead, somewhat hampered by delays on the railways. By the beginning of 1901 the building was ready.

Although modest by present standards, the school stood commandingly in the bare veld, looking four-square at the hills opposite and flaunting a square battlement over the entrance as if to underline the fighting spirit of St Michael. The approach to

the school was along farm tracks from the Curry's Post road (the road parallel to the railway was a much later development), past the station and, with a sweeping curve, entering the school grounds on the slope from what is now Vlei. Although Todd envisaged a complete quadrangle, at this stage there was only the north front and part of the east wing. Here there were to the right of the entrance, rooms for the matron and housekeeper and a dining hall, lofty and palatial compared with the low-ceilinged Loop Street rooms, which was intended to become a gymnasium but became successively a laboratory and a library. To the left of the entrance was the main staff accommodation: a common room, the Rector's house (in which three members of staff also lived); and then a classroom and bursar's office. The east wing—which was joined to the north front by an ugly but very necessary galvanised iron screen against the wind—contained three classrooms and a dormitory on the ground floor and, on the upper floor, two large dormitories and two bedrooms and a small sitting room for masters. The temporary chapel was appropriately in the centre above the entrance, with another classroom above it.

In all this, the faith of Todd and the Bishop's committee in the future of the school was abundantly clear. It was a permanent institution, capable of expansion and dedicated to the ideal of Christian gentlemen, as the Bishop asserted, with the emphasis especially on zeal and strength rather than on gentleness and sensitivity (the dormitories were named 'Spear', 'Helm' and 'Shield', reiterating the symbol of St Michael). Nor was there any doubt about priorities: physical comfort was low on the list. The kitchen was in a wood and iron building abutting the dining room and forming a temporary west wing. The bathroom contained a large iron tank capable of holding 24 bathers and 'a species of shower bath'—a perforated pipe running round the room; hot water could only be obtained in cans from the kitchen wing. (At Charterhouse, even this would have been regarded as luxury, for when Bushell, subsequently Rector of Michaelhouse, was at school at the turn of the century neither baths nor buckets were provided for washing.) There was, however, a day room and prefects' room in a temporary building south of the east wing.

Although the last year in the Loop Street premises was cramped and frustrating and marred by the tragic death of Harold Green, grandson of Dean Green, in a shooting accident while he was participating in a sham cadet fight, it was nevertheless a propitious

preparation for the move to Balgowan. Extra-curricular activities, though not lavish, were more diverse than they had been: for the mind there were a Literary Society and a Debating Society; for the body there was, besides rugby and cricket (the cricket team enjoying a highly successful year and being promoted to the senior league), swimming, the classes being taken by a new master, Durand, a relation of Dobrée; and, in a category which defies definition, there were also dancing classes. Scholastically, the school was improving and won its first success in the Cape Intermediate Examination (an exam beyond the Matriculation level and the first step towards a degree), when C. E. R. Button was one of ten successful Natal candidates. Although it was too early for Old Boys to be making a notable contribution, their activities were varied: three were at universities in the United Kingdom; thirteen served in the war, of whom one, W. A. Buncombe was killed at Intombi Spruit; and several entered the legal profession or civil service and others went farming. At Michaelhouse, indeed, the Rector suggested that it was time to form an Old Boys' Association. Most important, however, was the formal establishment of a Board of Governors.

Some other private schools had already made a similar change to a public trust. In the Cape, at 'Bishops' the creation of a governing board in 1885 and the generosity of Archbishop West Jones enabled the school to survive financial difficulties in the nineties and to step firmly into the twentieth century; and St Andrew's, incorporated by an Act of Parliament in 1887 which vested control in a Council, had expanded by 1900 to nearly three hundred students and boys. Hilton College was still a 'private venture' under Ellis, but the Hiltonian Society had been formed in 1892, and this prepared the way for a more permanent system. Apart from Todd's own enthusiasm, therefore, there was sound precedent for Michaelhouse to make the change.

There was already a group of people, headed by the Bishop, concerned with the future of Michaelhouse when negotiations began for a new site, and they approached various people for contributions to a foundation fund. By April 1900, £3,650 had been collected or promised (£3,000 from Miss Usherwood) towards the £9,400 required for the land and buildings at Balgowan. The first formal meeting recorded, however, was a small one with Todd in the chair, Freeman, Shepstone and F. S. Tatham as committee members and J. Crook as secretary; and a meeting

later the same month (April) had to consider leaving the roofs of the planned buildings unpainted in order to save money. Although the formal Trust Deed was not drawn up for some time, the committee which called itself the 'Committee of the Natal Diocesan College, Balgowan', declared Todd, J. Freeman, and H. C. Shepstone the trustees, and assumed responsibility for the negotiations with the contractors. Its membership was not clearly defined and the chair was taken variously by Todd, the Bishop and E. M. Greene, but its members gradually worked towards a clearer statement of the aims of the school and the function of the governors.

It was not until May 1901 that the draft Trust Deed was approved. It was registered the following month, but was amended a year later. The Trust (for 'Saint Michael's Diocesan College, Balgowan') declared the objects to be *inter alia* 'to provide under the auspices of the Church of the Province of South Africa, an educational institution for boys, commonly known as "Michaelhouse" which shall provide a liberal education with religious instruction in accordance with the principles of the Church of England'. The Rector was to be a priest and an M.A. of a university of the United Kingdom (by the first Deed he was to be an M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge); the governors were to be members of the 'English Church'; and the Bishop was to be *ex officio* Chairman of the Board of Governors.

Although the Trust Deed and the full title of the school make clear the intention to associate the school closely with the Church in Natal, the direct participation of the diocese in the school's affairs was restricted. The Board certainly considered whether one of the Church properties granted for educational purposes should be handed over to the school, but nothing came of the proposal. On the other hand, Synod made a grant of £250 towards the school building fund and some years later the authorities of the Church assisted with substantial loans. Nor could the chapel have been built by Todd's successor without donations from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.). The school, in other words, benefitted materially from its connection with the Church but was not subject to its control, except in so far as the Bishop should happen to interpret his dual position as head of the Church in Natal and Chairman of the Board of Governors. The original committee, indeed,

certainly thought of Michaelhouse in terms of the public schools of England, whose relations with the established church there were traditional but not restrictive, rather than of the 'voluntary' schools, for which the Church of England was directly responsible and which were not socially selective.

The negotiations which led to the establishment of Michaelhouse as a 'public school'—'public' in the sense that the trustees had an obligation to the public through the registered Deed of Trust and that the school was not run for private profit—had taken a long time. It must have been with a sense of great relief and achievement that Todd learned of the registration of the Deed in June 1901. At their first meeting after the registration, the Board agreed formally to the appointment of Todd as 'Rector and Head Master'. He had, however, undertaken to give his services free until the end of the year and, though the Board warmly thanked him for those services in November, it was not until late January 1902 that they were able to name a stipend for him—£300 a year.

DEED OF TRUST

OF

SAINT MICHAEL'S DIOCESAN COLLEGE, BALGOWAN.

WHEREAS the Reverend Canon Todd, has for some years past conducted and carried on a private School for Boys known as "MICHAELHOUSE" in the City of Pietermaritzburg

AND WHEREAS it was felt by many of the inhabitants of Natal that it was desirable to establish a larger and more commodious School or College for Boys, under the auspices of the Church of the Province of South Africa

NOW THEREFORE these Presents witness that there shall be a Trust to be called "SAINT MICHAEL'S DIOCESAN COLLEGE, BALGOWAN" hereinafter called "MICHAELHOUSE", and the following shall be the Rules and Regulations thereof:-

OBJECTS OF THE TRUST.

1.

(a) TO provide, under the auspices of the Church of the Province of South Africa, an Educational Institution for Boys, commonly known as "MICHAELHOUSE" which shall provide a liberal education on the lines of the Public Schools of the Church of England.

(b) TO erect such buildings from time to time as may be suitable for the purpose of the Trust.

(c) TO buy and sell landed and other property and furniture and other requisites for carrying on the School.

THUS DONE AND EXECUTED at PIETERMARITZBURG aforesaid the day month and year first mentioned, in the presence of the subscribed Witnesses.

AS WITNESSES:-

J. Crook.

John Kirkland

H. Chapman

John Freeman

E. W. Greene

George L. Tatham

QUOD ATTESTOR

John Liston

NOTARY PUBLIC.

Registered
Natal: Reg: La 5 of 1907
12: June 1907
Reg: of Deeds

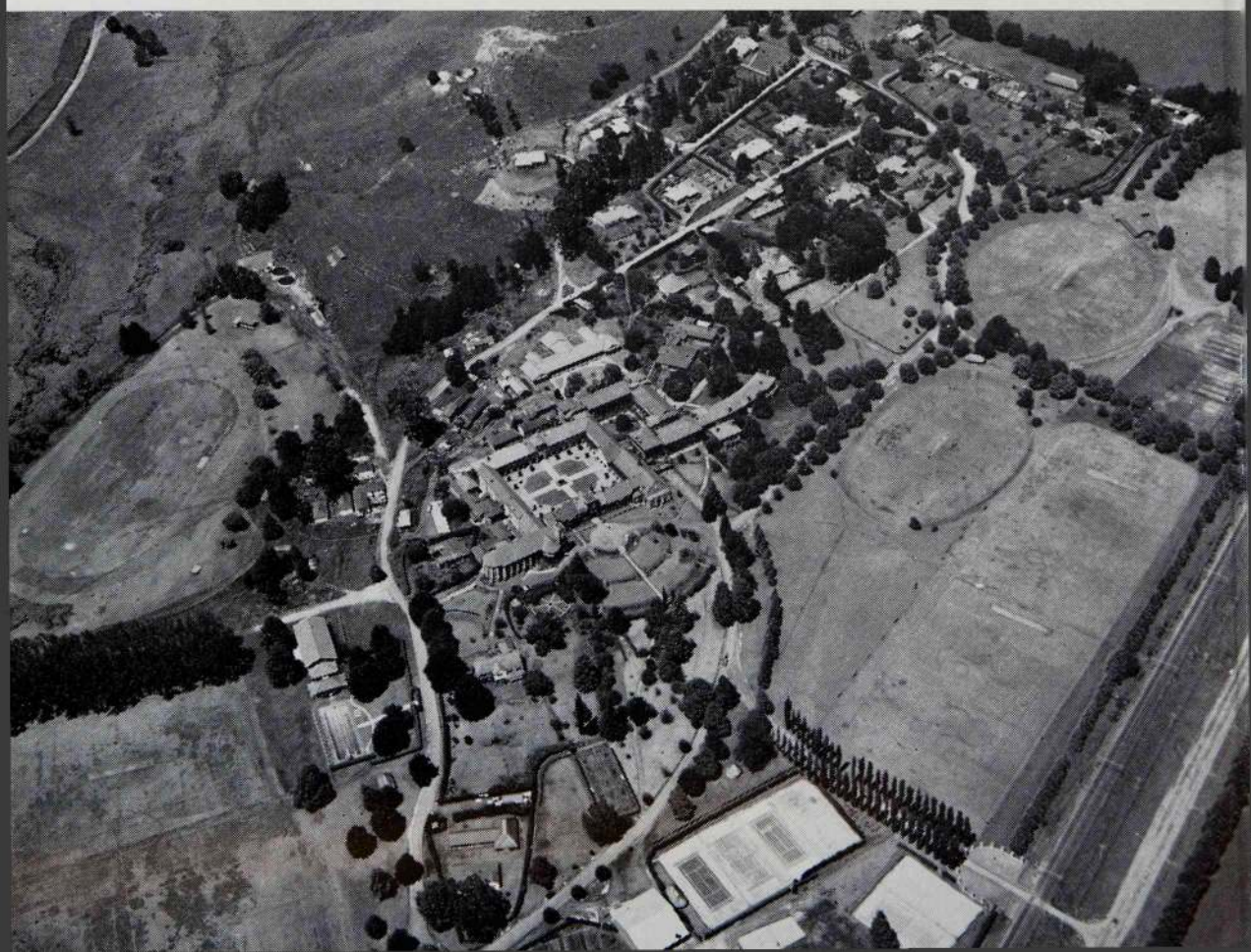
Michaelhouse, Loop Street

Migration

Migration Group: February, 1901

Balgowan: 1902

Balgowan: 1964



CHAPTER THREE

Todd: Migration and Departure 1901-1903

BY the time Todd was paid a salary, the school had had a year to settle into its new surroundings and the move seemed by then to be entirely satisfactory. But the move had been an adventure in itself. Because the single railway line was heavily committed to the army in January 1901, Todd had to charter four ox wagons to transport the old furniture from Pietermaritzburg. He regretted, indeed, that he did not do the same for the new furniture coming from Durban, for delays on the railways caused the school to open without much of its equipment: the dining tables arrived a few hours before the evening meal on the first day, but only two classrooms had desks and the Rector, perhaps congenially remembering Archimedes, was reduced to illustrating Euclid by drawing in the dust of the 'playroom' floor. Moreover, though the dam and storage tanks for water were completed, it was three weeks before the pipes arrived, so that boys took their baths in a pool of the stream and improvised water carts for the kitchen. Shortly before the school opened, a devastating hail storm had broken four hundred panes, and though they were repaired in time, misfortunes seemed to crowd in. Not the least of the initial alarms was an outbreak of mumps on the second day—an eventuality for which the school was ill-equipped. There was no sick bay but the stalwart and devoted matron, Mrs Jackson, coped with the crisis in her stride.

Although the school lost some boys who had been day boys in Pietermaritzburg, numbers were up to 77. Since the buildings were designed to take only 70, the additional boys were accommodated with the Jaffrays. Fortunately, besides an increased staff, Todd had the help of some seasoned prefects who had been with him from the beginning, including C. F. Moor. (Encouraged

by Hannah, Moor went to Oxford for a time and later went farming). In spite of the pioneering conditions the school was soon functioning smoothly. Hannah had been active during the Christmas holidays clearing cricket pitches in the veld north west of the school so that cricket could start immediately. That year the school had the pleasure of winning its first match (against Lion's River) on the new ground and of seeing a notable bowling record established by Forder, who took a hundred wickets in the season. The oval—also Hannah's inspiration and largely his work—was not ready till 1904, but in 1902 it was already measured and planted with trees, each of which Hannah ensured had a bucket of water drawn from the stream near the railway. The fields then and until the 'thirties were dusty and uneven—except for the oval, they were little more than cropped veld, and even on the oval grass was frustratingly reluctant to grow. But there was ample space, and this was indeed the major advantage of the move. There was room behind the play room for boys to add to the jumble of temporary buildings their own huts and 'fires' (sod shelters with a fireplace) in which like-minded spirits could congregate and surreptitiously cook the occasional pigeon filched from the Rector. Further afield was Hutchinson's pool and waterfall where the boys frequently swam and where—if the *Chronicle* is to be believed—they caught eels which a kindly housekeeper added to their breakfast or 'tea'. Most of the farmers allowed the boys to roam freely on their land, an opportunity which the boys did not allow the compulsory wearing of Eton suits to cramp. They were nevertheless generally at the station on Sundays to watch the mail train arrive and the passengers buying tea, which Mrs Jaffray dispensed (the trains did not then have dining saloons). The wide open spaces were, however, no more effective in keeping them out of mischief than any other device known to schoolmasters. The fowls at the brickfield near the station were a constant temptation and enjoyed relative peace only after Todd had confiscated a formidable pile of catapults and lead pellets which the boys had made from tea packets.

During the week, rugby, cricket or cadets according to the season occupied most of the afternoons, as in Pietermaritzburg. Supervision by masters seems to have been somewhat erratic and the organisation of practices was left largely to the boys themselves, yet the teams did well. Most of the matches were against club teams, but Maritzburg College were regular rivals and there

were occasional matches against other schools, but not Hilton, until Todd's last year. The cadet corps usually had an army sergeant in charge, but for a time one of the senior boys, Gibson, who had won a medal while on service in the war, had to take charge even of this activity. The corps was nevertheless able to participate in the visit of the Duke of York—later King George V—to Pietermaritzburg in 1901 and in a miserably wet, cold and windy camp in 1903 and to acquit themselves well in the shooting competitions. They were top of the 14 Natal schools but only 49th out of 68 in an Empire-wide competition. This was due, Natal claimed, to the handicap of having to use Martini-Metford instead of Lee-Enfield rifles.

In addition to these three activities, there were also occasional cross-country runs, either to the Beacon (opposite the school) or to Mons Tumba (behind it), and it was often Todd's practice to put up a notice informing the boys that he was going for a run and inviting them to join him. By 1902 a tennis court had been built, but it seems to have been used chiefly by the staff, for tennis was not regarded as adequate for robust boys.

Physical vigour was certainly highly rated—cricket was voted over three times as much from the 'amalgamated fund' as the library; but other activities were encouraged. There were regular lectures to the Literary and Debating Society on topics ranging from Ancient and Modern Drama to Umpiring; and Dobrée, while on leave in England, raised enough money by lectures there to buy the school an 'excellent lantern' with an acetylene gas illuminator for lantern lectures, then a popular form of entertainment. A camera club was started and enjoyed fluctuating support. And the *Chronicle* records that the Music society raised the standard of chapel singing appreciably. Little, however, was formally arranged. Since the eighty-or-so boys ranged in age from under 12 to over 19, even a concerted effort to provide extra-curricular activities for all could hardly have been successful and a changing staff made a concerted effort impossible.

Academically the school was nevertheless able to offer a fair range of subjects to the six or more forms in the school. The classes apparently did work which Todd (and other high school headmasters) felt should really have been done before the boys came to Michaelhouse, but which some of the boys at least had not done because they had either been at village schools or received tuition at home, where there was no grounding in mathematics or the

classics. Judging from the prize lists, mathematics (for which the Rector, himself a mathematician, offered the chief prize), classics and divinity enjoyed pride of place. There was also room for English, French, German, Science and even shorthand (a concession no doubt to the demands of some parents for something 'practical', for Todd regarded it as educationally valueless). Dutch had been taught in Pietermaritzburg by a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, but did not feature at Balgowan for a time, presumably because of the difficulty of obtaining a qualified teacher. Science had to contend with an improvised shed which did duty also as a room for the camera club and it seems to have had an insecure position in the curriculum. It should, however, be added that Michaelhouse was not alone in paying little attention to science: of the government and government aided schools only Maritzburg College and Durban High School taught 'experimental science' and the inspector was not complimentary about the standards in the latter.

It is almost impossible to assess the standard of scholarship achieved at Michaelhouse under Todd. At the Michaelmas celebrations held in the year of 'migration', the Bishop asserted confidently that it was now no longer necessary for parents to send their sons overseas to complete their schooling. On the other hand a son of a leading governor was, indeed, sent overseas to complete his schooling and his recollections were that the standard of Latin teaching was better under Todd than at Marlborough. The boys were prepared for numerous public examinations—Junior and Senior Cambridge Locals, the Cape School Higher, and the Matriculation and the Intermediate of the University of the Cape of Good Hope—although Todd had no great faith in them. This scepticism was shared, incidentally, with the new Superintendent of Education, P. A. Barnett, who asserted that the existing examinations tended to 'perpetuate a mediocre aim and a delusive object' and complained that 'Natal, with South Africa generally, is positively hag-ridden by examinations'. In these examinations, Michaelhouse achieved no great distinctions in the early days and the failure rate was high by today's standards—only three out of seven passed the 'School Higher' in 1902 and two out of four the Matriculation examination. But even in this, Michaelhouse was not exceptional among boys' schools in Natal—at Maritzburg College, Durban High School and Hilton a quarter or less of the entrants passed the Matriculation in the same year.

(Girls' schools had better statistics). But the best examinations are only a partial test of intellectual achievement and at least one of Todd's pupils, H. C. Mortimer, did very well in Law at Cambridge, another, J. J. Bisset, came fourth in the Cape Law Certificate examinations and J. J. Sisson, later a K.C., after graduating from the University of the Cape of Good Hope, was awarded the first Rhodes Scholarship to go to a Michaelhouse boy.

It is nevertheless true that few among 'colonial boys' hankered after intellectual achievement or elegant living: in what was still in many respects a pioneer colony, it would have been surprising if it had been otherwise. With companions who had joined the British forces in the holidays during the war (Gibson had, indeed, won a medal), the classroom was unlikely to seem very relevant to life unless the master were remarkably good. Even the journey to school tended to emphasise the importance of strength and perseverance to tame nature: a cart- or horse-ride over rough tracks or open country was frequently necessary to get to a railhead, and some boys rode forty miles or more to school, the horse going back with an African servant. Moreover then and for long afterwards the regular way of settling arguments was to arrange a fight, in the manner of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*; and on one occasion, boys who had had a difference of opinion with the foreign languages master, physically assaulted even him. It would be wrong, however, to give the impression that the boys were uncontrolled hooligans: they accepted firm discipline whether it was enforced simply by a dressing down (a method Todd used most effectively), or by screeds of lines, or by a physical task like levelling the clay quadrangle, or by the cane—and though a cane was prominent in every classroom, it was not the chief extension of the arm of the law it is sometimes supposed to have been.

The somewhat raw and isolated position of the school, advantageous as it was in some respects, nevertheless incurred a serious danger. Only those staff dedicated to the school were likely to find the loneliness supportable and even they ran the risk of turning in upon themselves. The fact that it was an almost exclusively male community doubtless made the setting all the more raw. Dobrée, alone, was married and the only other women were the housekeeper, Mrs Jackson, and the music mistress, Miss le Maitre. Moreover, the staff quarters were cramped: the Rector shared his 'house' with others and the common room did double

duty as common sitting room and common study. Even if there were no other handicaps, this combination of isolation and lack of real privacy would be enough to explain the frequent changes in staff. At Michaelmas, 1902, the Rector, remarking on the departure of the last of the original boys, noted that only he, Dobrée and Mrs Jackson were left of the foundation members of Michaelhouse. Except for these and Tryon, none of the staff remained longer than two years and most of those who joined after the 'migration' stayed (voluntarily or involuntarily) only a year or less, though some of them at least remained in schoolmastering, like Carpenter, who left for Durban High School and subsequently Maritzburg College, and Leggott, who went to Bishop's in Cape Town. Even Hannah was not altogether an exception, for he went to England on three occasions before Todd resigned. In the circumstances, a tremendous burden rested on Todd to ensure some continuity of policy and some cohesion in the staff so that the aims of the school were in fact carried out. He did not altogether succeed in welding a team out of his staff. But he was sufficiently successful for the school to continue to enjoy the confidence of parents, and numbers were maintained at the maximum capacity of the buildings, a wood and iron dormitory and master's room having to be added in 1902.

The school was nevertheless in serious financial difficulties and this not only prevented an expansion of permanent accommodation, which Todd and the governors wanted, but contributed to difficulties in the adjustment from a private school to a school governed by a Board to whom the Rector was responsible.

The individual members of the board were extremely generous in their donations to the school, each promising £500; and they used their good offices to obtain loans. But it was difficult to raise enough capital: the governors had to resort to a third bond on the property with a collateral notarial bond on the furniture of the school, and, instead of paying their donations over five years as they had promised, the governors agreed to pay immediately when there was no other way of meeting the bills for the building. F. S. Tatham was particularly active in trying to obtain additional funds and persuaded E. L. Acutt of Durban to contribute, which he did handsomely. He also obtained a promise of £1,000 over eight years from his brother R. H. Tatham in England. In spite of these additions and a donation of £500 from the S.P.G., the interest charges on the school were heavy and in 1902 the

governors reluctantly decided that the fees must be raised from 60 to 70 guineas a year.

The weak capital position of the school made the Board minutely critical of the financial management of the ordinary running of the school, and from the beginning of 1902 the Board minutes reflect increasing irritation with the way Todd handled the finances.

Todd does not seem to have been altogether businesslike—he failed to supply the secretary to the governors with a list of parents to be notified of the rise in fees and incurred the governors' displeasure for this. As a solution Todd pressed for the appointment of a bursar, to which the Board agreed. This did not, however, solve the problem, partly perhaps because the respective duties of the bursar and the Rector were not clearly defined. At all events, the governors continued to consider the 'financial workings', as they put it, unsatisfactory.

On the other hand, Todd must have felt the governors to be somewhat parsimonious: they refused to allow him to accept Mrs Jackson's son at reduced fees and were angry about his arrangement for Mrs Dobrée to receive her board at the school. The Board had laid down that the Rector was only to incur 'small accounts like breakages' without the consent of the governors. When, therefore, they learned that Todd had ordered a piano, they immediately instructed the secretary to send a wire to Todd to cancel the order. The wire was too late; and the Board somewhat petulantly had to give instructions for payment to be made by the bursar out of current school funds. The episode seems trivial, but it was only three weeks after the Board had given instructions to pay and had taken the opportunity to reiterate forcefully its embargo on all expenditure except 'small accounts', that Todd wrote his letter of resignation, on 4th April, 1903.

After such promising beginnings, what had happened? There was clearly a steady deterioration in the relations between the Board and the Rector, at least so far as the business side of the school was concerned. The fact that proud—and perhaps headstrong—men were involved did not make for easy compromise. Todd was primarily concerned with the boys under him at the time and was prepared even to accept oxen in lieu of fees if it would help parents to keep the boys at school. The governors were primarily concerned with the heavy financial commitments and—perhaps because they had themselves been so generous to the

school—could not tolerate the school's being financially generous to individuals. Perhaps there were other reasons, too, for the collapse of confidence (Todd's health was not good): at all events, the Board simply accepted Todd's resignation and only as an afterthought at the following meeting was it suggested that the Board express their appreciation to Todd 'for the work he has done in starting the College'.

At school, on the other hand, the news of his resignation was heard with genuine regret. On the last day of the term, supported by the Rev. G. E. Pennington (the first recorded association of the name with Michaelhouse) and Dobrée, the Rector presented the prizes. Dobrée made a farewell address and formally presented to Todd two photographs of the silver tray and tea and coffee service, subscribed for by the staff, old boys and boys, which awaited his arrival in England. The governors did not contribute. When he rose to reply, he was greeted by 'a storm of cheering' but though he spoke with considerable feeling about what he had set out to achieve, there was no sense of bitterness. He 'trusted Michaelhouse would be true to itself, and rally round and support his successor'.

Although he presided at the occasional reunions of old boys in England for a time, he wisely did not maintain a close association with the school after his departure. Any close association would have made his successor's task intolerable—and Todd showed on at least one occasion a sympathetic understanding of changes which his successor introduced. In any event, he had his own activities with which to concern himself, and the story of them is one of success and failure, joy and pathos.

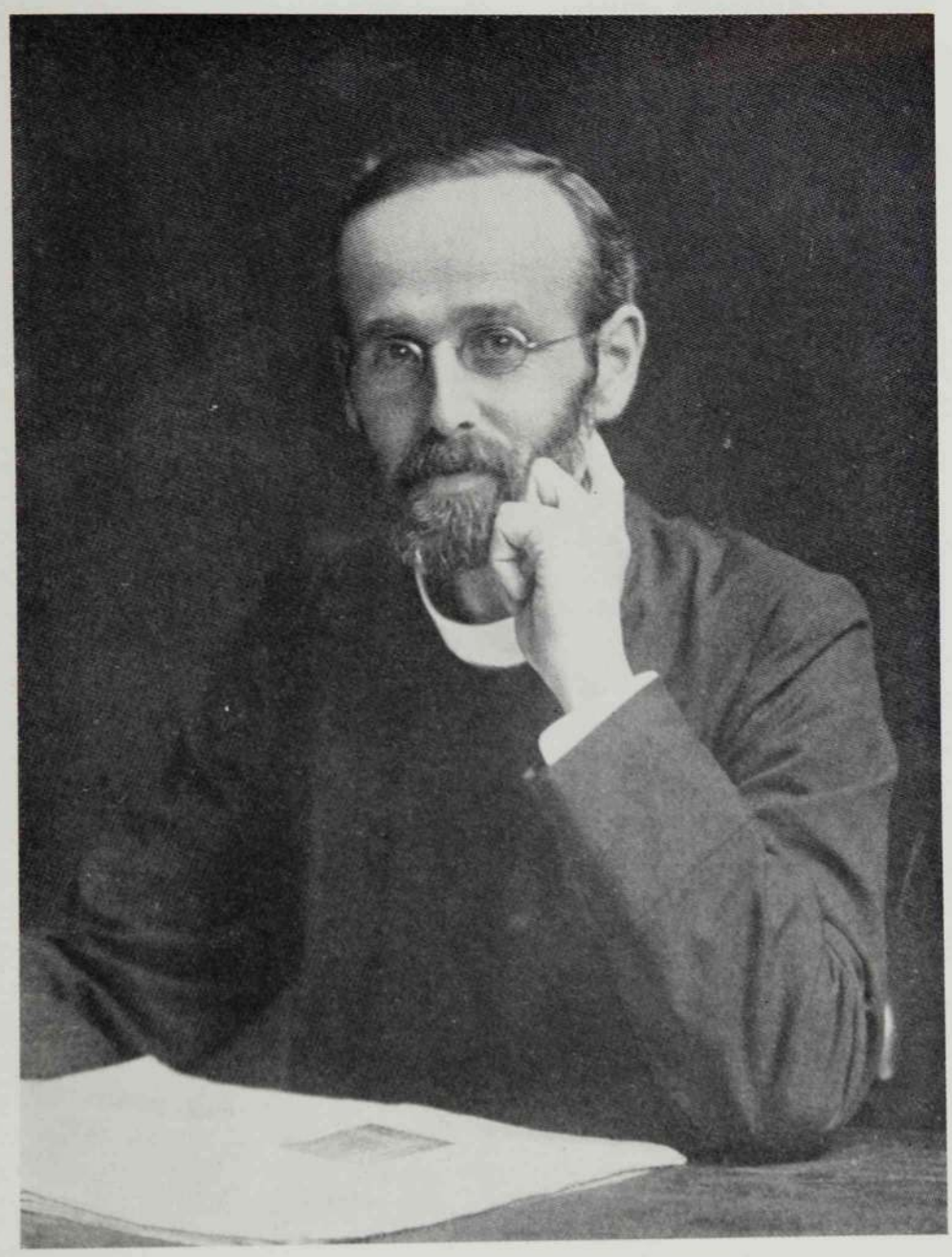
Soon after he returned to England, Canon Todd opened a preparatory school, Netherfield, at Crouch End. There on the staff was a Froebel-trained kindergarten teacher, Miss Aileen Mary Gallaher, god-daughter of William O'Brien, the Irish Nationalist. The Irish lass and the Canon fell deeply in love. For some time the love affair was kept secret from Miss Gallaher's aunt, who had become her guardian; but it was discovered and the aunt intervened. Perhaps the discrepancy in age had something to do with it—he was 41 and she 22; or it may have been that a marriage between a Canon of the Church of England and a Roman Catholic seemed impossible to contemplate; or there is a family tradition that Canon Todd had taken vows of celibacy and the aunt believed it would be sinful to break them. At all

events, Miss Gallaher was packed off to Canada and they undertook not to write or see each other for two or three years. Miss Gallaher tried to lose herself in the activities of Ontario—teaching, fishing, riding on the cow-catcher of a train, dancing unwillingly the newly fashionable 'Moonlight Waltz' (when the lights were turned down and—she wrote sadly to a friend—men took ungallant advantage of the dim romantic light): but 'Cameron' was constantly in her mind.

Todd, meanwhile, kept his word to the aunt, but faced one difficulty after another. He had eight operations for 'blood-poisoning' in 1909, and the following year suffered from appendicitis; and the school was a financial failure. At last he broke his silence, to the infinite joy of Miss Gallaher. After a period of uncertainty, occasioned by his fear that he lacked the means to support his wife—for Miss Gallaher had cut herself off from her aunt and therefore had little to supplement Todd's income—Todd proposed by letter and in the summer of 1911 went over to Canada to marry her. They returned to London to start another preparatory school at Kelvin House, Ruislip, a school from which his widow retired as headmistress only in 1935. Besides running the school and rearing a family—they had two daughters, one of whom became a writer and the other an economist—Todd was in great demand as a preacher. As a supporter of what was then an unpopular cause, he preached at the funeral of one of the most remarkable of the suffragettes, Emily Davidson, who had thrown herself under a horse at the Derby. His health, however, was indifferent and he died on 30th August, 1915, the news of his death reaching the school on Michaelmas eve. He was buried at St. Martin's, Ruislip, where his headstone records that he was 'Founder of Michaelhouse, Natal, S. Africa'.

Although Todd left Michaelhouse unexpectedly and perhaps with the sense of a task only half completed, it is right that his name should be kept before the school even though to most it means no more than 'our Founder, James Cameron Todd'. That he founded a school was not particularly remarkable: there were several other similar schools founded in Natal about the same time, of which perhaps Weenen County College and the Berea Academy in Durban were the most noteworthy. But Todd insisted from the first that he wanted a school which was not dependent on him alone: it was to be a school with a long future in which to develop and perhaps when he said in his farewell

address that 'Providence had caused him to resign' he felt that his duty had been essentially a pioneering one and that others should consolidate and develop his work. He pioneered the physical outline of the school: the first buildings clearly awaited companions to complete the quadrangle. He pioneered the constitution which shielded the school in financial and other crises. It was in itself a considerable achievement to inspire men like E. M. Greene and F. S. Tatham, who saw eye to eye on little else, to make the constitution a functional reality. In what he strove to do in the school itself he was hardly unique in aiming at the full development of the boys, physically, intellectually and morally—there can be few headmasters in the British tradition who do not claim this aim; but associating the school with the Church directly in this task was much less widely accepted. It would be sentimental to suppose that he achieved his aim of providing a full education, informed by religion: even in his valedictory address to Todd, Dobreé claimed no more than that Michaelhouse had done 'creditably at work' although she 'had proved herself the champion school at athletics'. But there can be little doubt that his absolutely firm justice and his sympathetic generosity to those—whether adult or youth—who seemed to need it, impressed themselves upon the boys who were under him. It is significant that his farewell gift was inscribed '. . . Indicium Studii Amoris Reverentiae' (a symbol of their devotion, love and respect).



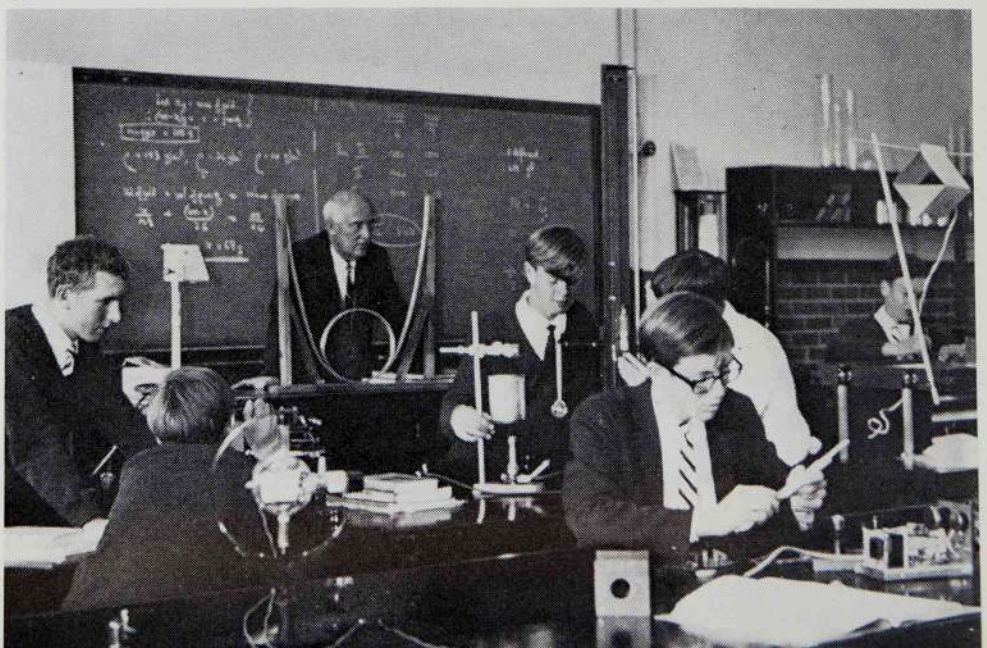
CANON EDWARD BERTRAM HUGH-JONES
Rector 1903-1910

1906

Science Laboratories

1931

1968



CHAPTER FOUR

Hugh-Jones: Promise and Crisis 1903-1910

IT happened that not long before Todd's resignation, St Andrew's had had to fill a similar vacancy and only a small majority of their Board had given preference to Macgowan over Hugh-Jones. When, therefore, the Bishop asked for suggestions for the Michaelhouse rectorship, the Bishop of Grahamstown warmly recommended Hugh-Jones for the post. He was, moreover, known to others in Natal, including the Superintendent of Education. The original plan to advertise the post was consequently dropped and, on the initiative of the Bishop and to expedite the appointment, E. B. Hugh-Jones was invited to become Rector. From the candid letter which the Bishop wrote to Hugh-Jones it is clear that he—and perhaps the governors as a whole—wanted a man who would raise the academic standards of the school, and Hugh-Jones was eminently qualified to set about the task.

With his names, Edward Bertram Hugh Jones (the hyphen was added in his undergraduate days), it is almost superfluous to say that the new Rector was born into a Welsh family. His grandfather was a Methodist minister; his father had a distinguished career in the Anglican Church in Wales, becoming a Canon and Archdeacon of St Asaph; and his mother was a daughter of the Dean of St Asaph. He went with a scholarship from Marlborough and the Powis scholarship to Jesus College, Oxford, where his father had been before him—a college long associated with Welshmen—and read Classical Moderations and 'Greats' there, taking a second class in both. His interests were wide, including music (as one should expect) and various athletic activities—he was elected captain of the College Boat Club; and there is perhaps a hint of his future interest in South Africa in his subscriptions to a number of missionary societies. Moreover the

meticulous care with which he kept his accounts as an undergraduate with limited means is an indication of a quality which the Governors of Michaelhouse had every reason to value highly.

Although he was ordained in 1893, his career was spent in teaching—first in a preparatory school in Bournemouth and then at King Edward's School, Bromsgrove. From this post he was appointed to be vice-principal of St John's College, Battersea in 1897, which had been the first residential training college in England, founded in 1840 by Dr (later Sir) James Kay-Shuttleworth, a man who decisively shaped English education in the nineteenth century. (The College was amalgamated with St Mark's College, Chelsea, in 1923). When, therefore, Hugh-Jones came out to Natal in 1903 with his wife (a highly trained nurse who had worked with Koch in Berlin) and a six-month old baby (who was subsequently a Fellow of Keble and then Professor of Economics at Keele), he had had a varied experience in teaching and some experience of administration.

The task he faced was a formidable one even in 1903, when South Africa—led or goaded by Milner—was still enjoying a confident prosperity after the war. Of the staff, only Dobrée (who acted as head until Hugh-Jones's arrival early in September) had been at the school any length of time; Hannah went on six months recuperative leave to England and of the rest, only Schmidt had not arrived during the course of the year. Equipment was poor. Though there were some books available, there was no library; and the new Rector's first plea to the governors was on the 'urgent necessity of a laboratory'. The austerity of the buildings was no doubt stimulating rather than daunting to a man of Hugh-Jones's temperament, but there were hazards which neither he nor his wife were likely to view with equanimity: following on a disastrous fire at Eton, the windows had recently been altered to enable boys to escape. But sewage arrangements were primitive pit closets until Brown's time. With slow communication and no refrigeration, the problem of keeping food fresh was serious. Nor were the school servants yet settled into the community: African servants were virtually nomadic and indentured Indian labour—the forefathers of the present stalwart Indian staff—had not yet been imported. Moreover, if the school were to function smoothly, the Rector had not only to supervise carefully but to perform a hundred and one tasks himself: it was about a quarter of a century before there was secretarial assistance or

even a typewriter, and Professor Hugh-Jones recalls that as a small boy he helped his father make ink for the school from water and a curiously-smelling powder.

Hugh-Jones nevertheless threw himself into the task with firm determination, with the confidence of the Board of Governors, and especially the Bishop, to support him.

He was concerned particularly at the narrowness of the curriculum, and one of his first achievements was to establish science firmly in the school, with A. H. Adair, of Trinity College, Dublin, in charge. It was Billy Adair—an invaluable factotum who gave over twenty years of devoted service to the school—who built and fitted out the laboratory whose necessity Hugh-Jones had urged on the governors. This was a wood and iron building which became a tuck box room when the War Memorial Hall was built. Twenty years later he was still trying to teach in the same building only slightly enlarged, and Pascoe defended him against criticism by one of the governors by drawing attention to the fact that the building, designed for 12 boys, had, in 1922, classes of 25 squeezed into it. In 1903, however, the public would not have been particularly concerned about science results and it required men like Hugh-Jones (Barns at Maritzburg College was another) to establish the subject as an integral part of the curriculum.

There was a change, too, in the arrangement of the classes to provide for a more regular and clear-cut progress through the school. The forms now ran straight-forwardly from Form II to Form V, with two years required in Form V for Matriculation; and the school ceased to enter boys for the Cape School certificate. In 1904 'outside opinion' was called in by Hugh-Jones to comment on the school, first by the Colonial Education Department and then by a lecturer at Birmingham University. The former was apparently sufficiently favourable to permit bursaries to continue to be held at Michaelhouse but not favourable enough to warrant publication. Partly as a result of these inspections, there was a revision of Mathematics (which had come in for particular criticism) in order to bring the teaching more into line with the methods approved by the Mathematical Association. The mind-searching among mathematicians was on this occasion particularly concerned with a modification of the hitherto rigid adherence to Euclidean geometry in particular, and at Michaelhouse the chief change was the introduction of 'geometrical drawing' to supplement the ritual learning of theorems. Other subjects,

too, were reviewed. In French there was an attempt to introduce more oral work, but as the master who replaced Schmidt for foreign languages suffered from deafness of which the boys took full advantage, one may doubt whether this reform had the results which were intended. Not long afterwards, however, Dutch was introduced in 1908 as the main foreign language, with van Eyssen in charge as the first South African graduate at Michaelhouse. This was a change which the Rector regarded as particularly important because of the prospect of 'some sort of federation' and which was a popular alternative among the boys. Less popular was the abolition of shorthand; but bookkeeping remained in the curriculum.

In one respect at least the review of the curriculum led to comments that sound remarkably modern: the staff felt that the standard of English was dismal and urged that more time should be spent on it. This led Hugh-Jones to comment, like Todd before him, on the lack of preparation which boys received before coming to Michaelhouse and on the 'lamentable fact that boys are sent to a public school at the age of 10, or even at 13 and 14, barely able to read'. To correct this, the Rector developed the library, mostly from donations and reflecting a catholic taste not too sophisticated for schoolboys—Thackeray and Scott rubbed shoulders with Henty, Orczy and Marryat, and one of the latest authors represented was W. S. Churchill. Moreover, the culmination of Hugh-Jones's most significant contribution—the dedication of a new chapel in 1909—enabled him to house the books properly in the room above the main entrance.

Without an adequate and stable staff, the attempt to raise the standard of scholarship was bound to fail. In his relations with the staff, Hugh-Jones's approach was quite different from Todd's. Whereas the commanding personality of Todd called forth the devoted personal loyalty of at least some of his colleagues as well as of the boys, Hugh-Jones, though tall, was physically frail—even unprepossessing—and emotionally restrained. But one gets the impression that he did not regard education as solely a matter of personal contact between masters and boys: it involved planning in the curriculum and in extra-curricular activities and it depended on the staff working together to execute the plan.

He was not entirely successful—some of the masters were very poor—but the staff was more stable than it had been under Todd. It is true that both Hannah and Dobrée left in 1905, the former to

become 'headmaster' of Cedara Agricultural College for a while before taking up farming himself, the latter to become vicar of Alfred County. On the other hand, nearly all those who joined the staff after Hugh-Jones's arrival remained at least two years—depressingly short, but twice as long as most remained in the first years at Balgowan; and some would have been an asset at any school—J. H. Lawlor, for instance, was brought out from Trinity College, Dublin, and, after three years at Michaelhouse, joined the Education Department, where he rose to be second in command; and J. E. Ferrar eventually began his own successful preparatory school at the coast. The stalwarts, however, were A. H. Adair, another of the recruits from Dublin, who was willing to turn his hand to almost anything and who acted as rector on several occasions, even coming back from retirement to fill the gap left by Pascoe's death; and Eldred Pascoe himself, who arrived in 1907 from Uppingham and remained almost till his death.

What is remarkable is not so much that the staff was constantly changing but that any good men regarded Michaelhouse as more than a temporary shelter before proceeding to posts more materially rewarding. The Rector pleaded for higher salaries for the staff, but the Board of Governors felt they could afford a rise only for the senior mathematics master—to £180 a year—and the rector himself had a salary of only £300 and a capitation fee of £2 10s, which made his income not much more than £450. At the government high schools, on the other hand, the headmasters received about £600 a year; and at St Andrew's even the £700 offered in 1901 had attracted few candidates for the headship.

Moreover, quite apart from the special difficulties which isolation and the necessity for stringent economy in the provision of equipment and comforts brought, teaching itself called for a toughness of spirit at almost any South African school of the time. Not only were many boys ill-prepared for high school work—it seems literally true that some were almost incomprehensible in English though they were fluent in Zulu. Opposition to ineffectual teaching was candid and sometimes even cruel—an escape from French verbs through the trapdoor in the tower class-room was a relatively harmless response; and the pressure of schoolboy public opinion was exerted powerfully against anything like 'swotting'.

Yet a few years after Hugh-Jones's arrival, the standard of scholarship had improved markedly. The years 1906 and 1907

were in many respects the most encouraging of the school's short existence and a wonderful augury for its second decade; but for the Rector, the improvement in examination results must have been the most heartening sign that the school was realizing its 'hope and ambition'. Whereas none of the five entrants for the Cape Matric in 1903 passed and only one out of eleven had succeeded in 1905, Michaelhouse had easily the best results in Natal for 1906, with seven out of eight passing (one being J. W. Hutchinson, after whom the Hutchinson memorial prize is named). The award in 1907 of the Natal Rhodes Scholarship to C. G. Roach soon after leaving school, was a confirmation of the success which the school could achieve. Roach had arrived almost unlettered and with barely six months schooling behind him, but he passed his Cape Intermediate after six years at Michaelhouse.

But success in games was then—perhaps even more than now—taken as the most accurate barometer of a fine school. Here there was at first a feeling that Hugh-Jones was opposed to team games or—even worse—that he proposed introducing association football in place of rugby. In fact he defended Michaelhouse against the charge of spending too much time on athletics. Indeed, although much of the practising was still left to the boys, the organisation of matches and practices became more regular. Stewart, the bursar, for instance, coached cricket and later Hart-Davis visited the school weekly. It was now that the friendly rivalry with Hilton began. In 1904 Hilton beat, 7-0, an otherwise undefeated side in rugby; but in the first cricket match between the schools, though the result was a draw, Michaelhouse had some claim to a moral victory: Hilton took over three hours to score 100 runs and, after a downpour and a change of wickets, Michaelhouse ran up 67 in 65 minutes for the loss of three wickets. The cricket successes, except for 1908, were not surprising. This was the age of H. W. Taylor, captain of the 1924 South African cricket team and one of her greatest batsmen, with seven test centuries against England to his credit, and a fourth wicket record of 214 which has stood since 1929. He left in 1907, but his example and the encouragement of his captain, Jenkinson, and A. H. Childe, a master, spurred on the younger players

The vintage year for rugby was 1906 when, in seven school matches, the unbeaten Michaelhouse side under C. G. Roach scored 132 to their opponents' 11 and in three matches against Durban and Pietermaritzburg clubs scored 35 against nothing.

The team—or part of it, bolstered by three masters—even acquitted themselves honourably and earned compliments from *The Natal Mercury* in a soccer match against Durban High School which ended in a draw. The star of the fifteen was J. Price Moor, who was invited to play in the Currie Cup for Natal as three-quarter but was unable to accept. Since between a fifth and a quarter of the boys inevitably played in the first team, a great deal depended on outstanding individuals, but there was some advantage in the fact that a few played several seasons—Roach won his colours four years in succession—and some at least were men of nineteen or twenty when they left school. Any travelling team had incidentally to face transport hazards as well as rivals. To reach Hilton involved a train journey followed by a ride in a buckwagon drawn by 14 donkeys—and on one occasion at least footsloggers caught a goods train on the return journey long before the donkeys, taking a leisurely two hours, reached Cedara.

The other major physical activity was centred on the cadet corps, which earned high (and apparently genuine) praise from General Leader for its drilling. But it was shooting which aroused particular enthusiasm, and there were long and not always friendly negotiations with Mr Jaffray about the lease of land for a range, which the boys themselves built. The chief shooting contests were for the Imperial Challenge Shield, but there were matches against other schools and clubs, the most outstanding successes being achieved in 1907 when the school won 62 out of 80 prizes at the Transvaal Cadet Bisley. R. P. Norton (while still at school) represented Natal, and there were two boys in the Natal cadet team.

These activities—cadets and cricket or rugby—continued, of course, throughout the year, and there were occasional runs, though not as often as in Todd's day. An innovation was the organisation of athletic sports, held on the oval which Hannah, Adair and Lawrence had helped to prepare. Times were not spectacular—in 1906 the 100 yds was won in 11¼ sec—but the preparations and the meeting itself involved most of the school and in one event at least (throwing the cricket ball) Moor's record (118 yds) was never beaten. The poor times were no doubt partly the result of the unevenness of the ground: there were many attempts to find a suitable grass but weeds generally won, in spite of 'voluntary' weeding parties; and in Brown's time the

bareness of the oval was regarded as at least a predictably even surface, preferable to the former 'tufted sparseness'.

It was inevitable that organised sport should play a prominent part in the school for, apart from anything else, there were few facilities for other activities. There was, it is true, music and there were occasional concerts including on one occasion a performance of the Toy Symphony when the Rector played the trumpet (the *Chronicle* is discreetly silent about the quality of the performance); and Pascoe was active in encouraging the choir. The carpentry which Hugh-Jones introduced (in spite of some raised eyebrows at the thought of menial arts) was an attempt to provide a constructive outlet for schoolboy energy which proved popular. But, on the whole, boys were left very much to their own devices, which, for a few might be something as constructive as bird nesting or snake collecting, but for most was nothing in particular—a situation which leant itself to bullying, though it seems to have been more controlled than in the earlier days, when a refined form of sadism was to place bees on the bare stomachs of small boys and rub the stings in. On Sundays some of the boys ranged widely over the hills—no longer hampered by Eton suits.

Hugh-Jones was very conscious of the need to provide something constructive for them and his broadmindedness is illustrated by the story that, when he was forbidden by the Governors to permit games on Sundays, he threatened to preach against the rule—and won the skirmish. Nevertheless the contrast between the excitements of the Bambata rebellion in 1906 and the tameness of school life were too much for some of the boys, who jumped a train to join a regiment and were returned only some time later.

The lack of facilities no doubt developed self-reliance in those who survived, but it was a cause of anxiety for those in authority in the school, and much depended on the prefects. The prefectorial system is always open to abuse, but, while relying heavily on the senior boys, Hugh-Jones kept their powers within bounds by instituting a 'black book' in which they were required to record punishments administered. He himself did not regard corporal punishment as the chief method of control: his almost cold but morally persuasive addresses, whether to the school as a whole or to individuals, were usually a sufficient deterrent to repeating the cock-fighting or whatever the misdemeanour was.

In the first few years of his rectorship, indeed, everything pointed to the steady implementation of many of the most valuable

ideals which Todd had had in founding the school but which Todd had not—through lack of time or lack of organising ability—been able to impose on the school as a whole, in spite of the remarkable effect he had on the boys as individuals. Even financially, the school seemed more stable. Major building plans had to be turned down by the Board—a plan to extend the East wing and another to build a house for the rector. Nevertheless the governors no longer had reason to complain about the running expenses of the school and, soon after the resignation of Stewart, willingly agreed to Hugh-Jones's offer to act as bursar as well as rector. He was, indeed, chief fund-raiser as well: a general joint appeal with St Anne's in 1903 had met with little success, so that even small additions like the cricket pavilion and the carpentry shop had to come from income or specially-solicited donations and the profits on the tuck shop were expected to pay for the carpentry-instructor's wages. In his efforts to keep the school solvent, Hugh-Jones had the full and careful support of his wife, whose concern upset a few, but, although the situation was somewhat better than it had been, the credit balance was extremely precarious, and the slightest breath of cold economic winds was likely to upset it disastrously. It was Hugh-Jones's great misfortune that the whole of South Africa faced an economic blizzard in the years immediately preceding Union.

In the year or two after the South African War, Natal enjoyed a boom with imports and exports at the record level of £16.6m and £12.2m respectively in 1903, and when they dropped the following year, it was generally assumed that it was a healthy return to normality. As there was a slight rise in 1905 there was some justification for this view, but the breeze became bracing in 1906 and really cold in the next two years—in 1908 imports were only half what they had been in 1904. Even the European population was dropping—from just over 97,000 in 1904 to nearly 92,500 in 1907 and a thousand less the following year. The slump was reflected in education. As early as 1906 there was retrenchment of some officers in the education department and the number of pupils in the high schools, having risen to 466 in 1905, dropped to about 400 over the next four years.

In its frail financial framework, Michaelhouse suffered in many ways. The governors had already been most generous as individuals and the funds benefited from a bequest of £500 by John Freeman, who died as a result of an accident in England. But,

although the church urged support of the school, the public was in general unable and perhaps unwilling to subscribe sufficiently to enable the governors to reduce the heavy £10,000 debt on the school and therefore the heavy interest charges. There were no benevolent organisations in Natal to compare with De Beers, the Beit Trust and Cullinan, who gave £5,000 to St Andrew's at this time. Moreover the prospect of renewing the bonds became gloomier: the governors experienced the greatest difficulty in renewing them and then usually at an increased rate of interest. Meanwhile, parents were finding it increasingly difficult to pay the fees. The record of outstanding fees and the various devices used to try to recover them—from persuasion to threats of court proceedings—make dismal reading throughout the period, and a distressing note is the resolution to appoint a special sub-committee to consider the amount of £753-2-10 in fees due to the governors by 1910—a sum equivalent to about a fifth of the school's expected fee income.

The most alarming feature, however, was the decline in numbers, especially distressing because they had risen steadily to 73 in 1906 and the Rector and governors had confidently expected the school to reach 120 before very long. The drop was small in numbers—to between 50 and 60—and proportionately far less than at St Andrew's where, from 300 in 1900, there were only 123 in 1909, partly because of the establishment of Rhodes University College. It was nevertheless so serious that the governors asked Pascoe and Adair to engage in the unedifying task of recruiting boys for the school during the winter of 1909. (Hugh-Jones was due to go on leave to England.) The picture of Pascoe, especially, assuming the combined role of travelling salesman and recruiting sergeant assaults the imagination: one can only wonder at the amazing versatility expected of schoolmasters.

Hugh-Jones was never physically robust—it is possible, indeed, that the knowledge that he suffered from tuberculosis discouraged some parents from sending boys to the school. The strain of maintaining the school in difficult times became almost intolerable, but he and the governors hoped that his few months' leave in 1909 would help to restore his health, especially as in February he had seen the culmination of his most cherished plan for the school —the consecration of the chapel by the Bishop.

If it were not for the building of the chapel, one's impression

of Hugh-Jones would be of a meticulous administrator, carefully husbanding limited resources and conscientiously planning a suitable curriculum for the school. That he contemplated a building whose immediate utility many might question and that he took the initiative in approaching the leading architect of the day —Baker—to undertake its design, indicate a sense of purpose and a faith comparable to Todd's when he planned the original school buildings at Balgowan. Moreover, he gained the support, not only of the Bishop—whose help was invaluable—but of the lay members of the board of governors. The major problem was, of course, financial; but Michaelhouse was fortunate to get—apparently as a result of a request from Hugh-Jones—a grant of £500 from the S.P.G. and an offer of £1,000 from the S.P.C.K., both recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury's South African Education Committee. The S.P.C.K. offer was, however, conditional on the land being free of bonds, and, in spite of a plea by the Bishop to waive this, the Society felt it could not make exceptions. By this time, Baker had been invited to draw up plans and the Board was determined to find a way round the difficulty. An ingenious solution was suggested by F. S. Tatham and E. Greene and accepted by the Society—the bond-holders were asked to release the land to be occupied by the chapel and the land was thereupon transferred to the Diocesan Trustees in 'Special Trust for a Chapel for Michaelhouse', and to them this enclave (roughly where staff and visitors sit) belongs to this day. The chapel was expected to cost £2,000, and most of the balance came from 'official' donations (from the governors), the Natal public subscribing only a little over £125, in spite of a handsome brochure produced by Hugh-Jones to appeal for funds.

The architect, Herbert (later Sir Herbert) Baker, was then busy on designs for the future Union Buildings in Pretoria, but he found time to discuss the Michaelhouse chapel fully with the governors and although he is said to have complained that 'they want me to build it for 4/6', he proved most co-operative about economical changes which the governors proposed—he substituted brick for stone in the sanctuary, for instance. In spite of the limited funds available, he and the contractors (John Barrow of Johannesburg) managed to erect with local brick and stone a building in six months which, though austere, had such fine proportions that it gave the impression of a generous loftiness of purpose based on warm and solid foundations—an impression which the only part

remaining—the apse—partly retains. The teak altar was appropriately the gift of the Bishop and the pulpit (also in teak) was given in memory of John Freeman. An incidental consequence of the presence of Italian stone-cutters at the school was the unexpectedly gentle statue of St Michael placed above the main entrance to the school, the gift of Old Boys.

The chapel was the outward sign of the religious foundation on which the school was built and both the Bishop and Hugh-Jones hoped that it would strengthen the religous education provided in the school. Perhaps the establishment of a branch of the S.C.A. in 1908 and its strengthening in 1909 was a sign that the promise was being fulfilled. The quality of religious education is at all times difficult to assess; but since Michaelhouse had no permanent chaplain for many years and the successors of Hugh-Jones were not themselves priests, the chapel was the only prominent and permanent reminder of the fact that Michaelhouse was established as a church school.

In reading the old school records one has the feeling that the consecration of the chapel—itself an impressive ceremony which filled the chapel with 150 clergy, members of the Board and boys —was recognised as the culmination of Hugh-Jones's achievement: the *Chronicles* record no major events thereafter and the Board did not meet for eighteen months; and even the establishment of Union goes unremarked. Indeed, Hugh-Jones's health could not stand the pace at which he had been working. His leave (when Adair acted in his place) refreshed him a little, but in July 1910 he felt obliged to tender his resignation. He left Natal in August and died at sea on 11th September, a few days after leaving Cape Town.

There is no doubt that the governors felt his resignation keenly and personally; at Balgowan, Eldred Pascoe, the Senior Master while Adair was away on leave, expressed the affection and esteem of the school and presented Canon and Mrs. Hugh-Jones with two silver vases and a rose bowl (which is now an inter-collegiate fencing trophy at Oxford). He led the school at a time when nearly all private schools were experiencing great difficulties and numbers dropped so seriously in his last years that there was some doubt whether the school would be able to continue. This has tended to obscure the contribution which he made to Michaelhouse.

He was not a man whose personality attracted attention from a distance—he was little known outside the Michaelhouse circle—

and this was a disadvantage when competition for public support was severe among schools. His emphasis on intellectual achievement led Hannah to suppose that he had little sympathy for 'colonial boys': an opinion which his remarks about boys entering the school ill-prepared seemed to confirm. But neither he nor the governors were alone in believing that as Natal emerged from a pioneering society, intellectual values required emphasis. Moreover the school's reputation stood high in the estimation of those responsible for the shaping of Natal's education policy: the report which preceded the establishment of the Natal University College expressed the hope that 'such excellent institutions as Hilton College and Michaelhouse and others equally good' would co-operate by sending post-matriculants to the University College; and Michaelhouse was one of only three boys' private schools which earned representation on the Council of the Natal University College in 1909 (the others were Hilton College and St Charles).

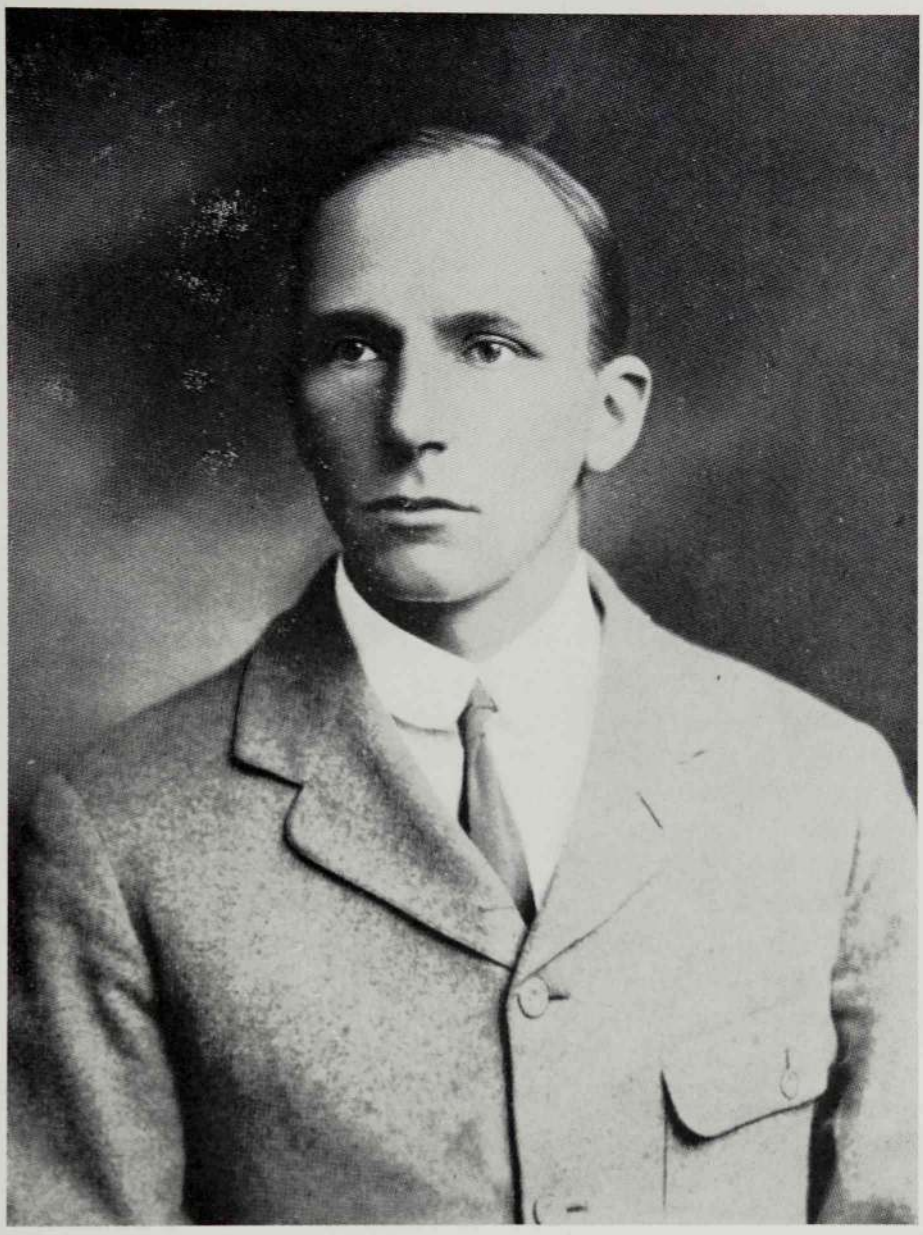
Nor was he really unsympathetic to 'colonial boys' and their needs. He did not take an obvious interest in their primary concerns—he rarely watched matches, for instance, and boys construe this as a strange sense of values. But it was nevertheless a golden age of sport both at the school and among old boys: in 1908 seven old boys played in the Natal XV (T. H. Y. Worthington, A. H. Winter, C. W. Janion, J. C. Otto, H. W. Taylor, E. L. Baylis and F. Brunskill) and in 1910 five did so (D. Taylor (capt.), H. W. Taylor, C. G. L. Baylis, E. L. Baylis and T. H. Y. Worthington). In cricket both Dan and Herby Taylor later distinguished themselves for Natal and the latter was almost chosen for South Africa in 1910 for the team in which Michaelhouse had its first Springbok, Tom Campbell, a pre-migration boy. Although these successes cannot be credited to Hugh-Jones directly even when they received nearly all their preliminary coaching during his regime, a lack of sympathy on the Rector's part would almost certainly have made such successes impossible: and if he had been hostile to athletic activities he would not have taken the trouble to defend the school against the charge of spending too much time on sport of one sort or another and would have checked the enthusiasts who practised in the early morning before important matches. In selecting staff he was, indeed, concerned to recruit men interested in sport.

Moreover, although his nickname ('Scabby') was unflattering

and his persistent cough repelled some boys, his prefects in particular learned to understand and respect his quiet determination to make the school a place in which fully responsible citizens of South Africa could be nurtured, a determination which he voiced on the occasion of the consecration of the chapel when he envisaged South Africa as 'a great province of the British Empire'.

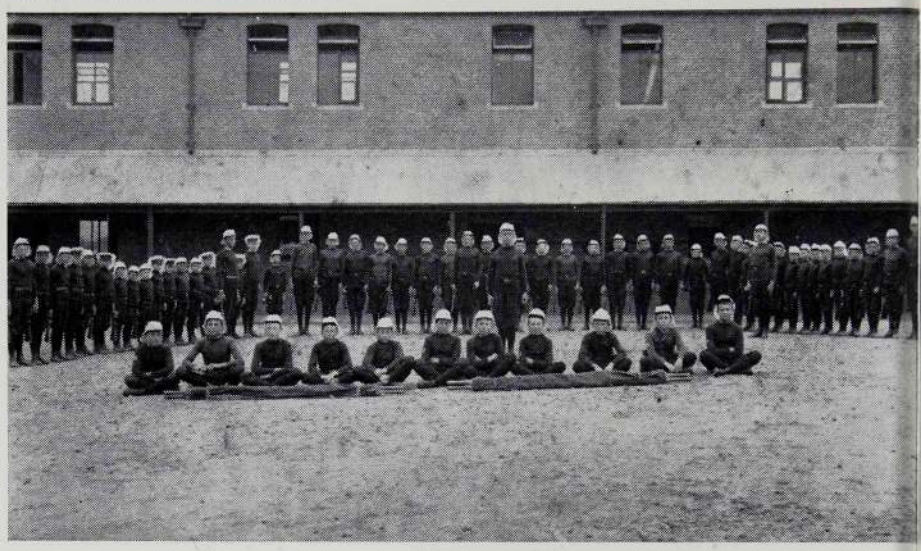
Natal sorely needed men prepared to take an enlightened and responsible part in the Union which was effected shortly before Hugh-Jones's resignation, for her policies were held in low esteem by the British Government, both the Natal governors of the time (McCallum and Nathan), the High Commissioner (Lord Selborne) (who described Natal in 1907 as 'bankrupt in policy and in finance'), and all the leaders of the other colonies in South Africa; and the inadequacy of Natal's leaders showed at the conventions preceding Union, for, with the partial exception of Greene, the Natal delegates seem to have had little understanding of what a political union meant. Hugh-Jones seems to have seen the need to stimulate the minds and broaden the interests of the boys so that they would be better equipped to play an active and not a complacent part in the country's life.

He did not have the physical strength and lacked the dynamic presence which would have enabled him to enthuse many boys with his ideas; moreover his energy was almost fully absorbed in saving the school from drowning financially. He has therefore remained a somewhat shadowy figure in the traditions of Michaelhouse, remembered, if at all, by the dauntingly full-face, bearded portrait in the hall. His real memorial is in fact in the chapel, as appropriate a place for it as the centre of the main quad is for Todd's: soon after his death, a teak lectern was commissioned in his memory, designed and executed by Harry Hems of Exeter and dedicated by the Bishop in October 1912. The elaborate figure of St Michael delicately but evidently effectively trampling on the dragon and precisely thrusting his spear through its throat now faces the boys dramatically on the wall as they leave the chapel, the ample proportions of the new chapel having overwhelmed the detailed craftsmanship so long as it remained as a lectern. Hugh-Jones's defence of the school in very difficult times enabled it to survive not only the pre-Union slump but the six months' uncertain interregnum which followed his resignation: his precision was perhaps not endearing, but it was effective.



ANTHONY WILLIAM SCUDAMORE BROWN
Rector 1910-1916

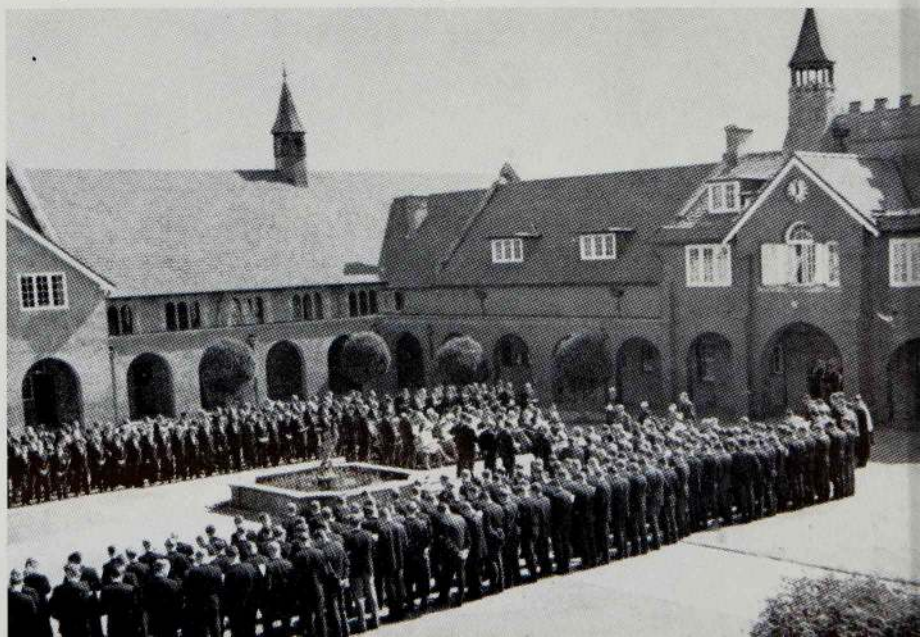
Cadet Parade, 1st World War



Band Ceremonial, 1955: The 1915 Wing in the background

Quad Ceremonies

Receptio ad Portas, W. D. Wilson, 1964: War Memorial Hall on the left



CHAPTER FIVE

Brown: Peace and War 1910-1916

OF the problems which beset both Todd and Hugh-Jones, one was not far from being solved when Hugh-Jones resigned: the lack of scholastic preparation for so many of the boys entering the school, a deficiency which the independent spirit of the boys and the relatively poor quality of the teaching staff accentuated. There were, of course, elementary schools in various parts of Natal, either established or aided by the government; but, although some of them gave a grounding sufficiently thorough for high schools to build on, elementary education was thought of as something with a quite different purpose from secondary education and not as a preparation for high school work. There were, too, some private preparatory schools, especially in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, which provided a different curriculum from the elementary schools and ostensibly prepared their pupils for high school work; but most of these—like Blenheim (which for a time took all ages) in Pietermaritzburg and Talana near Dundee—were ephemeral and their standards varied considerably.

A notable exception was Merchiston in Pietermaritzburg, started with eighteen boys in 1892 by two remarkable women, Miss Allan and Miss Rowe, and sufficiently well established by 1896 to supply Michaelhouse with a number of boys, including the first entrant (Moor) and the first Michaelhouse Rhodes Scholar (Sisson), and much later (1913), a boy (W. R. Evans) who was to become Merchiston's first Natal-born headmaster. Merchiston was not, however, directly linked with Michaelhouse but rather provided Maritzburg College with a regular entry. Moreover, although it was the aim of the founders to foster in the boys 'Fear of God and love of man' and F. S. Tatham was one of the most vehement supporters of the school, there were many who

felt that a preparatory school should also be associated with the Anglican Church.

To some extent, St David's House in Greytown provided this association. This was started in 1902 as a result of the determination of some of the local people, and especially Col. (later Sir) George Leuchars and the Rev. (later Archdeacon) Pennington, to provide suitable schooling for their sons to prepare them for public schools in Natal or England. A few prominent men formed a committee and Williams became the first headmaster of the school, to be followed not long afterwards by Owen. In their large stone and brick house, the boys were well prepared by Owen and one or two assistants, and St David's fed a small but regular stream into Michaelhouse, for there was a close association between the two schools: a year after the foundation of St David's, the *Chronicle* referred to it as an 'off-shoot' of Michaelhouse, and it is probable that Todd was associated with the enterprise. The school even took pride in the fact that it had a plunge bath similar to that at Balgowan. Nevertheless, although it earned a reputation for soundness by its good examination results and by the quality of the entrants to Michaelhouse (several of whom were to win Rhodes Scholarships, K. M. Pennington being the first), the school was never large. When, therefore, the governors of Michaelhouse discussed the question of a preparatory school they did not support the idea of expanding St David's, no doubt because it was out of the way. The first world war seriously affected the school and girls were subsequently admitted; but the school continued its effective work for the local community until the 'thirties. Meanwhile, Cordwalles had become indisputably a preparatory school for Michaelhouse.

Towards the end of Hugh-Jones's rectorship, the question of preparatory schools had become a prominent issue not only for Michaelhouse but for Natal as a whole. In 1909 a commission, under the redoubtable ex-headmaster of Maritzburg College, R. D. Clark, recommended the establishment of preparatory schools for College and Durban High School, preferably annexed to the respective schools, as was the practice at Hilton. The preparatory school, they asserted, 'is in reality the crux of the educational situation in the Colony'. The publication of the report coincided with a crisis in the history of Merchiston, for Miss Allan and Miss Rowe were suffering financial anxiety, numbers had dropped to eighty-eight and they were contemplat-

ing selling the school. The Natal Government thereupon decided to take over the school, in spite of the eloquent protests of F. S. Tatham that such a move would destroy a valuable institution. His gloomy prophecy was fortunately not fulfilled, but the change impressed upon the governors of Michaelhouse the need to consider whether a preparatory school was not also the crux of Michaelhouse's problems.

At a meeting of the Board in July 1910, Bishop Baines and F. S. Tatham were appointed a committee to consider the establishment of a preparatory school and at the next meeting a month later, after 'considerable discussion in which the various pressing necessities of the School were earnestly considered' the Board resolved that 'it is desirable that a School preparatory to Michaelhouse be established at the earliest possible date'. Perhaps the sense of urgency was tempered by a feeling that it would be wise to await the arrival of a new Rector; at all events one of the earliest requests to Brown was to prepare a report on a preparatory school and by June 1911 the Board was discussing the merits of various places, including Inchanga, Estcourt and Town Hill.

Thereafter the scheme developed apace, thanks largely to the enthusiasm and generosity of the Bishop. The Bishop bought the property 'Blenheim' on Town Hill, offered to fit it out as a school and offered it free of rent to the governors for three years. A committee, including the Bishop, F. S. Tatham and A. W. S. Brown among others and with Tatham's son, A. T. Tatham, as secretary, was appointed. Various conditions were approved, notably that religious instruction should be on the lines of the Church of England and that there should be an age limit for entry to Michaelhouse ($12\frac{1}{2}$) and for leaving the preparatory school ($13\frac{1}{2}$). The Board, determined to open the school in February 1912, offered the headship to Pascoe. When he declined, the school was most fortunate to obtain J. H. E. Besant, who had graduated from Brasenose and taught at the well-known Oxfordshire preparatory school, Summer Fields. Before the school was fully launched, a slight hitch was discovered: the Michaelhouse Deed of Trust did not permit the governors of Michaelhouse to use its funds (and therefore the Bishop's gift) for a preparatory school. The gift was therefore cancelled and it was made over instead to the governors of Cordwalles, who henceforth constituted a separate Board, not simply a committee of the Michaelhouse Board.

And so Cordwalles, named after the school at which the Bishop's nephew had been educated, began its task with fifteen boys, the first of the 'steady stream of well-drilled recruits', as the *Chronicle* not very happily phrased it. Today one may doubt the wisdom of moulding the curriculum of a preparatory school precisely to fit that of a high school, as it was accepted that Cordwalles should do, but the idea that any curriculum should be adapted to the capacities of children was then wildly heretical. In any event, Besant soon gained the confidence of parents: in just over a year the school was 'full', with 45 boys, and by 1914 there were over 50. Very soon Brown was able to report that about a quarter of the boys at Michaelhouse had had the advantage of passing through 'our' preparatory school. The enthusiasm of the governors and of Brown himself in launching the enterprise was fully vindicated, and with Besant as the pilot for thirty-five years, Cordwalles became a school valued not only for its connection with Michaelhouse but for its own academic achievement.

But this is to run ahead of the story, for while the governors were considering the establishment of a preparatory school, there was some doubt whether there would be a school to take the 'prepared' boys. F. S. Tatham told his son that he and the Bishop spent many hours in earnest discussion about the future of the school. One may imagine the agonising appraisal the two men were forced to make: both had been personally committed to Michaelhouse since it became a diocesan school; both had been wonderfully generous; and both had had such high hopes of the service the school would do in providing leaders for Natal. But numbers were low—there were only 57 in the Michaelmas term, 1910—and interest charges were high. If the public of Natal did not support the school, would the buildings not be better used in some other way? For the Bishop, the alternative was to convert the school into a Theological College for training Africans; for F. S. Tatham there was no alternative: the school must be continued. Late in the evening Tatham had still failed to convince Bishop Baines and they parted, the Bishop undertaking to reconsider the situation, and Tatham knew that this meant a night of prayerful meditation. Early the following morning he received a telephone call from the Bishop and heard the simple but resolute decision: 'We go full steam ahead.' The whole discussion had been confined to these two men, but if either of them had withdrawn his support, Michaelhouse could hardly have

survived. On the other hand, having made the decision to go ahead, they both planned energetically for the future.

The first task was to set about appointing a new Rector. Tatham, impressed by Frank Fletcher, the first lay head of Marlborough and one of the early laymen to lead any 'public school' was convinced that the governors should be enabled to appoint a layman to Michaelhouse—indeed his support for the continuation of Michaelhouse seems to have been conditional on this—and he gained the Bishop's support for this idea. By the time the governors met again, negotiations for the appointment were well advanced and on 21st November the Board unanimously agreed to the necessary change in the constitution: 'some person other than a clergyman' may be appointed provided two-thirds of the governors present agree. (At the same time the post was opened to graduates of universities of the British Empire instead of being confined to those from the United Kingdom—a minor consequence, perhaps, of the establishment of the Natal University College that year.) The following day, Anthony William Scudamore Brown was formally appointed.

As if to ensure a long and energetic leadership, the governors—or, rather, the Bishop—had appointed a man in the full vigour of his youth, a day or two short of thirty when the appointment was made. He had been at school at Uppingham, becoming captain of the school before winning an open classical scholarship at Caius College, Cambridge; there he justified the award by gaining a first class in the Tripos of 1903. It was his scholarship and teaching ability which especially impressed his colleagues in his first appointment. This was at Trinity College, Glenalmond, the only Episcopalian 'public school' in Scotland, where the Warden was A. F. R. Hyslop, and which was a school with several Michaelhouse associations. C. W. Hannah's grandfather had been an early Warden; Hyslop's second wife was the sister of W. F. Bushell, the future Rector; and, some years after Hyslop's death, she married Hannah after his retirement from Michaelhouse. But Brown was not only a scholar: he was an enthusiastic sportsman and leader in the Officers' Training Corps. After four years at Glenalmond, he returned to his old school in 1907 as an assistant master and headmaster's house tutor, a position which must have given him a valuable insight into the administrative side of a school's life.

Young and relatively inexperienced though he was, Brown was

a happy choice. His physical vigour and his direct expression of the aims of the school—he 'unhesitatingly put character before intellect'—were likely to appeal to wavering supporters; his interest and participation in sport appealed to boys, even though —or perhaps especially because—his temper exploded from time to time in the scrum; and his generosity, grasp of detail and enthusiasm were appreciated by the governors.

In one important respect, Brown's burden was lighter than Hugh-Jones's had been. Before he arrived, the governors had been offered £1,000 free of interest by the Church's Provincial Council of Education from the Pan-Anglican Thankoffering Fund and soon afterwards the Anglican Trust Board agreed to lend £4,000, also free of interest and repayable over forty years. These loans enabled the Board almost to halve the mortgage indebtedness on the school and therefore to plan ahead with greater certainty, especially as fees were more regularly paid. The generosity of the Church was matched by the generosity of the governors themselves. In response to a proposal by the Rector, two (F. S. Tatham and L. W. Christopher) offered scholarships which were to be awarded on the results of an examination and two men (G. Leuchars and H. M. Smith, who was not a governor), offered money for scholarships or bursaries. Brown himself gave a bursary for post-matriculation work for which the school became responsible when he joined up; he advanced money for some minor alterations; and, for several years unknown to the governors, he subsidised the bursar's salary.

By the end of 1913, the governors were feeling sufficiently confident to contemplate major additions to the school, and they proposed to launch a general appeal for funds. Though the response was poor—no doubt partly because of the uncertainty preceding the outbreak of war (and without a £1,000 donation by H. Butcher, recently elected to the Board, it would have been pitiable)—the 'interest fund', established at the same time to guarantee the interest on any loans needed for the new buildings, was more successful, thanks to the generosity of individual governors and the Rector. Both the governors and the Rector had to husband their resources carefully: the board was unable to pay its secretary, W. L. Whittaker, who thereupon offered his services free; and when tenders proved too high for a sanatorium, Adair agreed to design and supervise the building, together with

the Drill and Carpentry Instructor, Sgt. Campbell. Nevertheless, it was not necessary for Brown to skrimp as his predecessor had done during the years of depression, and he was able to devote most of his pent-up energy to the general well-being of the school.

Brown took over a school which had been ruled by a sick man and had then suffered the inevitable uncertainties of an interregnum of almost six months, when first Pascoe for a brief spell and then Adair, after his return from England, were successively acting rectors. He liked the active manliness of the boys, but he soon showed that he felt that these qualities were not imcompatible with scholarly habits. He discovered that learning was not only frowned upon but actively suppressed by bullying on the part of some of the boys, and one of the early signs of his determination was a forceful threat to expel anyone thwarting the purpose of the school. At the same time, like Hugh-Jones before him, he made a drive to encourage general reading, the absence of which the *Chronicle* at the end of 1911 described as 'deplorable'. He introduced literature prizes, added a lamp to the library, experimented with leaving the library shelves open and made a general appeal for books for the library, especially books of poetry, which was then represented only by Wordsworth and van Beeck (an old boy). The drive was not an unqualified success—not many books were added to the library and most boys preferred to be physically active about anything rather than read; but at least enthusiasts knew that reading enjoyed authoritative protection.

Within the school curriculum, an important change was the introduction of a 'remove' form to avoid clogging the lower school with veterans who were not fitted for campaigning in the upper school class rooms. There was also an interesting prelude to the system of 'setting': Brown found the standard of mathematics again weak and sought to remedy this by dividing both the upper and the lower schools into more or less homogeneous sets. Judged by examination successes, these changes did not achieve spectacular results, though Michaelhouse managed, with about 50% of its matriculation entrants passing, to hold its own with other boys' schools; and in 1914, when an epidemic of scarlet fever forced the school to close early and matriculants wrote the examination at Hannah's farm, K. M. Pennington achieved the rare distinction of a first class in the Intermediate examination.

If the school was no more than moderately successful at preparing intellectual leaders, there was much at Balgowan that

forced the boys to become self-reliant and the countryside was—as it still is—an open invitation to the adventurous. Apart from the cross-country runs towards the Beacon on rainy afternoons and the supervised swimming expeditions after cadets, which involved a hot walk to the waterfall pool, theoretically there were free bounds only on Sundays after matins. Then, with sandwiches from the school supplemented by other food bought from the redoubtable Mrs. Campbell, wife of the drill instructor, groups scattered about the valley and the hills, from Nottingham Road to Lidgetton and from Beacon to Night Bush and occasionally beyond, sometimes simply walking, mostly exploring the natural bush or the streams or—what became almost a craze for a time—digging caves.

Canon Pennington urged the establishment of a Natural History Society to take advantage of the school's situation, and a few months later M. Robertson, newly arrived from Winchester to replace Pascoe while he was on leave and astonished at the opportunities offering with no organisation to make use of them, persuaded the canon's son to establish a society. Though the foundation was no more permanent than its predecessors had been, Robertson's enthusiasm confirmed K. M. Pennington's interest in natural history, which was to make him a lepidopterist with an international reputation; and it introduced a long-lived interest in egg-collecting for which free bounds offered excellent opportunities.

There were other activities for which only the night was suitable. Raids on the orchards—either near the school or, preferably, near Caversham—already almost had the sanction of schoolboy tradition behind them. A novel escapade was to visit a remarkable station foreman, Lewis, who welcomed company on his lonely night-shift and regaled errant boys with yarns and with feats of strength with his teeth. Perhaps it was he who, early in the war, informed boys that a trainload of German prisoners was due to pass through Balgowan. Anti-German feelings were running high and this was reflected in the attitude of the boys: all but a few lined the fence as the train went by and pelted it with sods and stones. It was a foolish, inhuman demonstration of chauvinism, as Brown very soon made the boys feel, but it was characteristic of many people's response to the war, and the sinking of the *Lusitania* a year later aroused passions still further.

There were, however, more peaceful activites and some

pleasantly homely touches to smooth the rough outline of the environment. There were, for instance, the evenings when Adair would entertain the boys in the dormitories with stories, the days when boys played soft-ball cricket in the quad during the break or rushed to the site of the present Punch Bowl to play soccer; and for some there was the comfort of tending pets of one sort or another in an area behind the chapel. On Saturday evenings, there was regularly some activity in the hall, which all boys had to attend: sometimes it was dancing—without girls, however; sometimes there was a lecture, either by a member of staff or other friend of the school or, more excitingly, by a man like Capt. McQueen who spoke about the still almost legendary fascination of Central Africa. Though the school 'Choral and Dramatic Society' had a brief life as a formal group, concerts and plays featured more or less regularly. The first recorded dramatic performance was of the assassination scene from *Julius Caesar* in 1911, but after the trial scene from *The Merchant of Venice* the following year tastes changed: 'Nunky' Bishop, a swaggering, zestful character with a passion for double acrostics and Victorian melodrama, began a long series of burlesques, farces and melodramas with *The Bitter Bit* in 1914, and Shakespeare was confined to play readings arranged for occasional Saturdays by the Rector. Another art which found official sanction on Saturdays was boxing, which Brown encouraged 'to enable every boy to use his fists in a just quarrel', but the official boxing evenings did not supplant the unofficial but prefectorially supervised duels of honour behind the day room or the long-established practice of initiating newcomers by pitting them against physically superior pugilists.

With the numbers still small for most of Brown's rectorship, it was possible—and perhaps inevitable—for the activities to be arranged in such a way that all the school participated in practically everything. Occasionally societies were formed to cater for more specialised interests—the Natural History Society has already been mentioned, and both the debating society and the photographic society were temporarily revived during Brown's rectorship. But they never survived for long the departure of their founders, partly, no doubt, because the schoolboy population was too small to have many devotees of a particular cult, and partly because, among the small teaching staff of six or seven, there were always one or two birds of passage and a lame duck or two, so

that the masters could not provide continuity of leadership in a multitude of activities.

The hard core of the staff were all appointments of Hugh-Jones: Adair, Pascoe and J. E. Ferrar, to whom should be added (although he did not count as one of the teaching staff) Sgt. Campbell, who, with his wife, contributed substantially to the gastronomic and muscular toughness of the boys for five years by running a tuck shop. Hannah was at hand in emergencies and returned several times for periods long enough to replant the oval and to create a new cricket ground, but it was only later that he became a really permanent member of the staff. Among the new appointments, F. S. Bishop, with his dogmatically efficient teaching but sometimes wayward habits, was to be the most permanent. Of the rest, most remained about two years and a few contributed energetically to the general life of the school, like W. M. de Villiers, A. van der Horst and Robertson, who were enthusiasts in cricket, rugby and natural history respectively. For the religious side of the school's work, Michaelhouse had to rely on occasional visits by kindly vicars to supplement the variable contribution of the teaching staff, until the Rev C. E. Briggs was appointed visiting chaplain in 1913 and then to the permanent staff two years later. For the management of the school's business, on the other hand, Brown was able to appoint a full time bursar in 1912, when, with Dan Taylor, there was the first appointment of an old boy to the school. (His successor when he joined up in 1916 for the second time was also an old boy, J. Rethman.)

Though the quality of the staff varied and the war made it more difficult to find replacements, the staff-pupil ratio was statistically generous and even extravagant, especially when the contribution of the bursar to the sporting activities of the school is taken into account. This was one of many reasons why the Rector and the governors were anxious to attract more boys to the school.

Not long after Brown's arrival, the Board recommended a 'fuller advertising' of the school and Brown visited farmers especially, to persuade them of the virtues of Michaelhouse, a task which he cannot have relished since he was, by all accounts, a shy man among men. More congenial to him were his own proposals for scholarships and bursaries. Once he had been in the school long enough to grasp the business details, he suggested to the Board that the total fees should be reduced by about £10 a

year to £67, in the expectation that, with fifteen extra boys (there were 60 at the end of 1911), the school would be financially better off. The governors readily agreed.

These measures, together with the growth of confidence in the school and the improved economic position of the country, had quite spectacular results: by Michaelmas 1913, numbers rose to the record figure of 85, with 43 new boys during the year, and to 92 early the following year. Thereafter there was a somewhat unhealthy fluctuation in numbers, with 80 on the roll when Brown left on active service in the middle of 1915 and 75 a year later, but even this figure fulfilled Brown's prophecies.

The prospect of increased numbers forced the governors to contemplate improvements to the school buildings and equipment and the reduction of the mortgage dues enabled them to plan more ambitiously than they had been able to for many years. The enthusiasm for building seemed to be infectious, for the prefects built their own fireplace and someone on the staff—perhaps the Rector—had a private garage built which never, however, housed a car. (For a time the only conveyance for the staff at the school was a horse, shared by Adair, Pascoe and Ferrar.) More substantial additions were the sanatorium and two music rooms, built in 1913.

At the same time the Board considered proposals of their special building committee to complete the quadrangle and, though they rejected the total £13,000 scheme on the ground of expense, they readily agreed before the end of 1913 that additional accommodation was an 'urgent necessity' and optimistically hoped that the east wing would be completed by July 1914. The necessity to make financial arrangements and, especially, the need to review the scheme and cut out 'inessentials'—including a hot water system—when the lowest tender was over half as much again as the governors had budgeted for, delayed the start of building operations until the eve of the outbreak of war. The buildings were at last completed, at a cost of £5,000, in time for the 1915 school year. Designed by Fleming (of Baker and Fleming), the buildings were austere but not unattractive, at least when viewed from the quadrangle; and they incidentally fixed the size of the quad for the future, for they not only completed the east wing but turned the south-east corner. It was a comprehensive addition, containing not only a classroom, dormitories (furnished to Adair's design), a new plunge bath and drying room and a housemaster's accom-

modation, but also a septic system for the lavatories—a system which gave trouble for several years, but which was nevertheless an essential improvement over the previous insanitary arrangements. An additional safeguard to the health of the school was the duplication of the water supply which was undertaken at the same time.

There was still much that was awkward and incomplete about the school—was there ever a school free from temporary makeshifts? A gas plant had been installed in the space between the chapel and the east wing shortly before Brown arrived, reducing the need to use smelly and troublesome paraffin lamps, but the classrooms were unlit and the boys went to bed with candles (evening functions were held in the dining hall, which had gas lights). The kitchen was still the temporary wood and iron structure of Todd's day and, if schoolboy memories are to be relied on, limited itself to the production of one reasonable meal at midday, porridge for breakfast and a hot but indescribable dish for seniors in the evening; for the others, appetites had to be satisfied with bread and jam or butter or dripping, supplemented by whatever tuck parental goodwill would provide. There were other 'temporary' buildings which continued to clutter the area behind the quad for years, some of them until after the second world war, shifting their function from carpentry shop to day room or tuck room according to the pressing needs of the time. A deficiency which affected staffing was the lack of accommodation for married men: Ferrar had to erect his own house when he married and was only allowed to do so on the understanding that he removed it if he left, so that when he later founded a preparatory school at the coast he took his house, snail-like, with him.

Nevertheless, the scheme completed in 1915 provided the school with enough room to breathe and with the minimum equipment—both preventive and curative—necessary to give the Rector some peace of mind when he considered the health of the boys. It was fortunate that the scheme had been well launched by the time war broke out.

Ironically, the first society meeting after Brown's arrival was a deabte on the motion that 'War is an Evil', which was carried by a small majority, though the opposition claimed a moral victory on the ground that two of their supporters had voted in the wrong lobby. Just over three years later, the editor of the *Chronicle* was contrasting the peace of Balgowan with the agony of

Europe and was calling on old boys to 'give their manhood in their country's behalf, without bluster, without flag-wagging, but with cool heads, quiet tongues and nerves of steel'; and he had to record the name (R. G. Hindson) of the first old boy to die on active service.

The daily routine of the school was at first not seriously disrupted, though the additional burden on the railways contributed to delays in completing the new buildings and the cadet corps later suffered inconvenience through the temporary lack of an instructor and the shortage of ammunition. The tensions of the war were nevertheless very much in evidence: senior boys were restless to be away and all were avid to learn the latest news from the front, scrambling to read the newspapers as soon as they arrived about midday; and in 1915 some of the enthusiasm began to be channelled into the making of crutches for wounded men.

News of old boys on active service arrived thickly: by October 1914 there were reports of forty-five serving in various ways, mostly in South African regiments. By the end of the war, some two hundred old boys had served, strong in the belief that they were fighting not simply for the British Empire but especially in defence of a small nation and to uphold the justice and sanctity of international treaties. Some of them fought in the South African Rebellion or South West Africa, others in East Africa or the Middle East, most of them on the Western Front.

The few personal contemporary records there are sparkle with a sense of adventure, far from the spirit of Wilfred Owen. There is the letter from a Flight Sub-Lieutenant (A. F. Brandon) describing his first air fight over the Mediterranean, his subsequent bombing 'stunts' and the 'topping sport' of night flying; or the account by another airman (K. M. Pennington) of his forced landing behind the Turkish lines, his scrambling, with two others, down dongas and over the Kurdistan mountains, the tension of listening for village dogs and the hair's breadth escapes from Turkish patrols, until at last, after seven days, the exhausted trio reached the British lines; or the brief note about a raid on the German trenches by a platoon (including B. W. Goodwin) with blackened faces and 'speaking kafir', whose strange disguise enabled them to creep near enough to 'bomb' the enemy successfully.

Among these young men—there can have been few Old Boys over thirty when the war broke out—the school was proud to

honour a number whose gallantry was recognised by the award of the newly-instituted Military Cross and other distinctions. There were two who won the D.S.O.—Lieuts. G. W. Janion and G. B. Russell; and M.C. and Bar (Capt. E. J. Greene); five with the M.C.; a D.S.C.; an A.F.C.; and a Croix de Guerre avec Palme. The D.F.C. went to A. F. Brandon who, in (or 'on', as he put it) a 'Camel', attacked an enemy bomber formation single-handed and had the distinction of being the first airman to bring down a 'Gotha' on English soil. As F. S. Tatham, adapting St Paul, expressed it at the laying of the foundation stone of the Memorial Hall, these men, and others like them, had 'quitted themselves like men—men of honour, men of courage, men of faith'.

But 'War is destruction', Mr Justice Tatham also said; and who should know better than he, who had lost two sons in the war? From 1916, the news of losses came with sickening emphasis. The number of Old Boys on the roll of honour was forty-three; it was as if for two or three years of its short life, Michaelhouse had had no entrants. In addition, at least two men who had been on the staff were killed: H. V. Mills, a master for two years under Hugh-Jones and J. A. Keith, who had been drill instructor for a time. It was, however, the death in action of the Rector which made the most noticeable single gap in Michaelhouse.

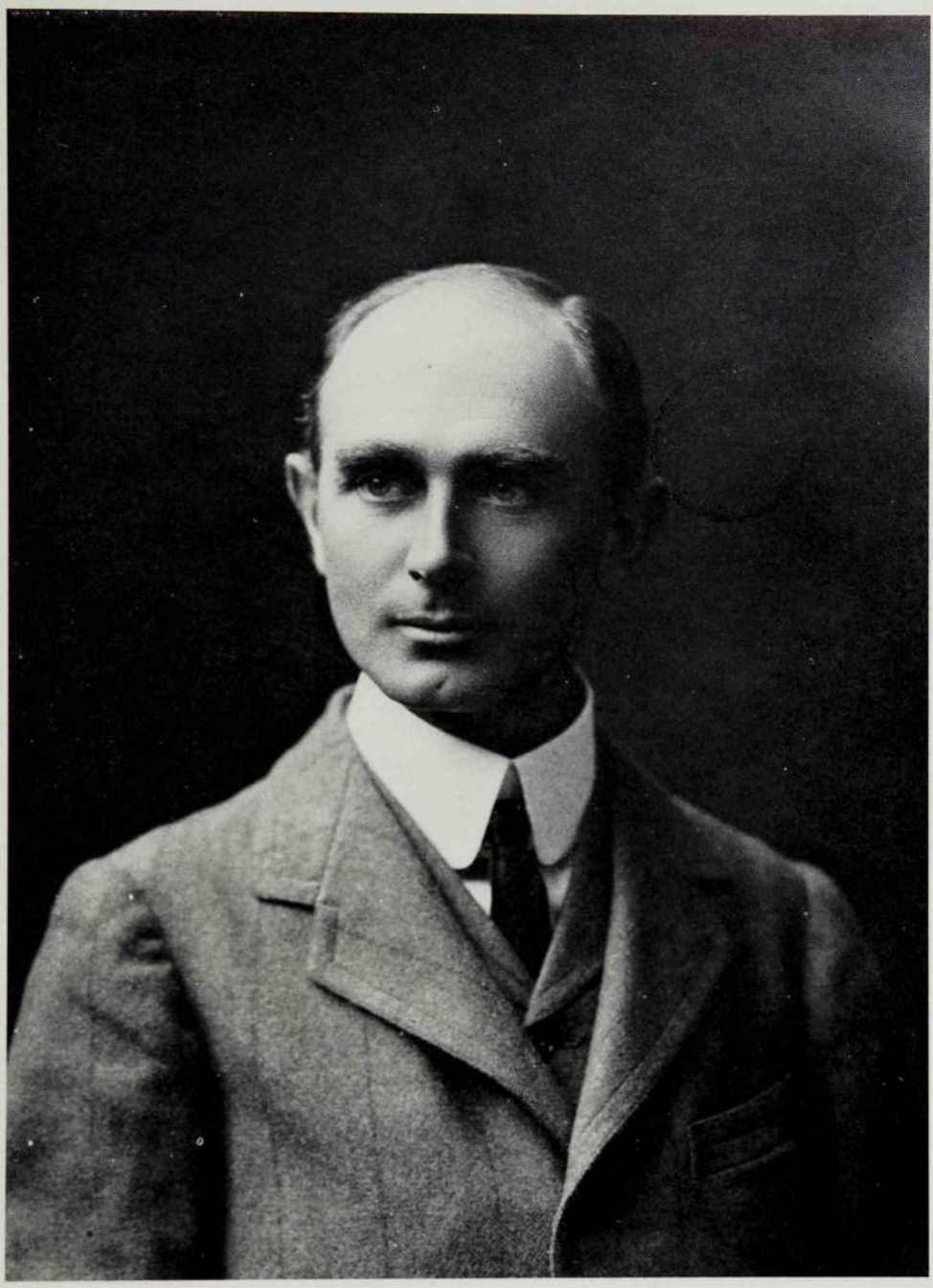
When the war broke out, many believed that it would be over before long; but by the beginning of 1915 it was apparent that it would draw in more and more men, and those who were young and held positions of responsibility were faced with a cruel choice in determining where their duty lay. Brown had such a choice to make: he felt the cry for men to strengthen the wavering western front was an imperative call; yet he was aware that he had played a major rôle in committing Michaelhouse to a policy of expansion. He urged on the Bishop the pressing need for officers; and, when the Bishop remained unconvinced, they submitted the question to three men whose judgment they both respected. The answer was still 'no'. But Brown was restless, impatient to go, able to carry on his work only 'by rushing, as it were, from one bit of work to another' as the Bishop later said; and at the end of the term, after a few days of quiet, he sought the Bishop out in Durban to say he must go.

He was given leave of absence and set sail for Europe at the beginning of August 1915. He soon gained a commission in the

Rifle Brigade, but his absence still seemed only temporary; when the Bishop saw him while on a visit to England, the talk was almost wholly about Michaelhouse; and a few weeks later he wrote from the front to F. S. Tatham: 'I am glad to be here; but confess that I long to be back at my work at Michaelhouse.' On the 18th August 1916 he was coolly sitting on the parapet of a front-line trench near Guillemont, directing improvements, when a sniper shot him and he was killed instantly. It was the Bishop, still in England, who cabled the news to the school. Eight years later, his name was inscribed at the head of the list of Old Boys whose death in the war is commemorated on the Stone of Memory: his individual memorials were a brass tablet in the Chapel and a clock which all in the quadrangle could see and which was thought to be particularly appropriate because the vagaries of the hall clock had been a constant source of irritation to him.

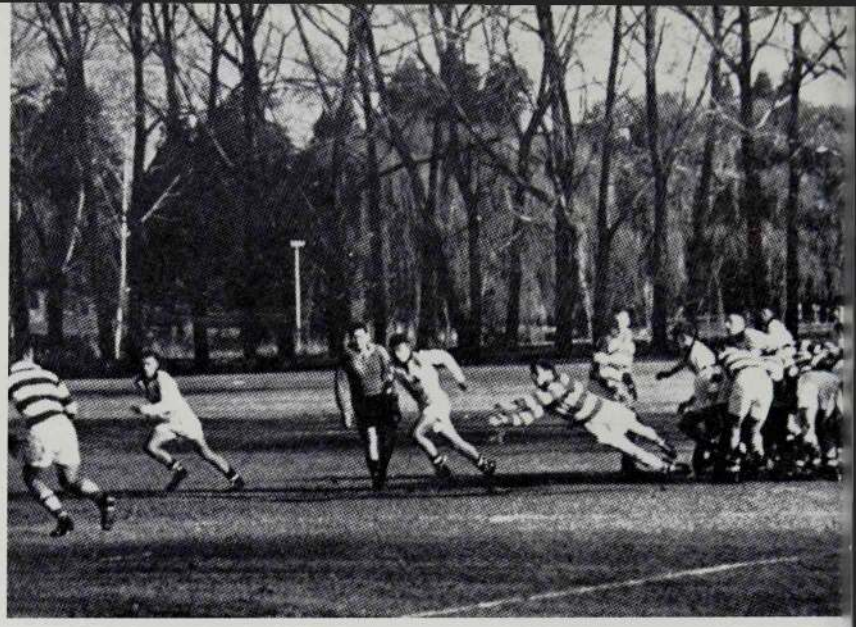
Anthony Brown had been Rector for only four and a half years when he was given leave to join the forces: too short a period to enable one to judge how he would have led the school had he not been killed, especially since his mind was distracted by the conflict of loyalties for the year before he left. There were, indeed, no major changes in policy apparent during this time: the 'public' record in games and examinations was neither spectacularly good nor abysmally bad; the curriculum remained unchanged, except that bookkeeping apparently became more popular at the expense of the 'deal languages', as the *Chronicle* put it; and the life of the school followed, with minor variations, the pattern already established. At least to some of the boys who were under both Hugh-Jones and Brown, the changes were imperceptible, though others who knew only Brown felt that his energy and determination wrought a noticeable improvement in the tone of the school. Certainly Brown took over a school gravely weakened by the depression but within a few years gained the confidence of governors and parents sufficiently to embark on additions to the school; and his professional advice to the governors helped considerably in the successful launching of a preparatory school in close association with Michaelhouse. These were tangible and important contributions. His self-sacrifice in the war had intangible effects, for the tragedy of his death in action reflected a glory on Michaelhouse which the school would gladly have foregone but which helped to lighten the way during another interregnum

and in the last days of the war. In these circumstances, to question whether he had the tenacity or the vision to build on his undoubted initial success became irrelevant and unanswerable.



ELDRED PASCOE
Rector 1917-1926

Sport



Rugby against Hilton:
on Meadows, 1955

Rugby about 1906:
on what became
Aitken's and Bailey's

Below: Cricket 1930:
players in the first match
played on turf
at a South African School

CHAPTER SIX

Pascoe: Consolidation 1917-1926

FOR the four years of the war Michaelhouse had been made stirringly and often painfully aware of the world outside the midlands of Natal. The armistice was celebrated with a service in chapel, a smoky bonfire (the November rains came) and the sounding of bugles and bells. At Michaelhouse, as elsewhere, it seemed to mark the resumption of the course so rudely interrupted by the events of 1914.

In large measure the hope was fulfilled. There is no inkling in the records, for instance, of a consciousness of the newer concept of Empire which the representation of South Africa at Versailles symbolised; apart from the surprising inclusion among a gift of books to the school of *The Russian Revolution* by L. Trotzky (sic), the Communist Revolution goes unremarked; and neither Einstein nor T. S. Eliot is mentioned. One of the few peeps into the outside world of change is an editorial in 1922 referring to educational methods being in the melting pot and expressing the fear that theorists had 'overstepped the limit', for the Dalton and other plans ignored that 'drudgery is an inescapable part of education.'

There were, nevertheless, some changes which touched life at Michaelhouse. The most dramatic and memorable occurred before the end of the war, when the first aeroplane to be seen in South Africa landed at Balgowan. The school had been warned beforehand and prepared to greet it with full military honours. The school paraded on a paddock north of the railway line and waited wonderingly for the novel contraption: nothing appeared. Later, they were drawn up again, and at last a speck appeared over the hills 'at a great height', circled above them, landed and drew up next to the Rector (Pascoe). For everyone it was an

excitement to be able to inspect the evidence of man's conquest of the air, but for one boy in particular (Archibald) it was especially thrilling, for the pilot, Major Miller, handed him the first (and no doubt the only) letter ever carried by air from Park Rynie to Balgowan. For ordinary mortals, however, the chief communication with the school was by rail, gradually being affected by the age of electricity—by the end of Pascoe's term of office, the line was electrified, which reduced the danger of fires in the playing fields and left the country tranquillity less disturbed by noise and smoke. Before the end of the war, the school itself contemplated changing over to electricity from gas, and in 1920 a Delco plant was installed, which enabled all the classrooms to be lit and had the additional advantage of allowing the Rector to substitute late afternoon classes instead of the normal pre-breakfast ones during a particularly cold spell the following year. Meanwhile the school had been linked more effectively with the outside world when, in 1919, a telephone was installed, which Pascoe told the Governors was an 'immense boon.'

But Michaelhouse was still a somewhat isolated community, physically and culturally. Hannah's old Ford, Eliza, or its successor, Yellow Jane, was one of the rare cars to brave the roads. And it was the essence of Pascoe's rectorship that he concentrated on building on the pre-war traditions rather than on breaking new ground, on developing a spirit in the community founded on traditional values rather than on linking the education overtly with current events and ideas. Though the standing of Michaelhouse had improved during Brown's rectorship and especially after the firm establishment of Cordwalles, the slight decline in numbers before Brown went on active service, the uncertainty occasioned by the interregnum of Adair and the difficulties of staffing during the war, indicated that, at least initially, a policy of caution and consolidation would be wise; and Pascoe was, of course, well known to the Governors when they appointed him Rector.

Eldred Pascoe was in important respects a pre-war figure, having more in common with Hugh-Jones than with Brown. He was the son of a clergyman (like Hugh-Jones), born in Truro and educated at Blundells in the west country, which one associates with sturdy self-sufficiency as well as adventurousness. His graduation from Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1894 was almost half way between Hugh-Jones's and Brown's and, like

Hugh-Jones and many others who came out to South Africa, he suffered from consumption. There is no record of what he did immediately after going down from Cambridge, but he was appointed a master in the Lower School Uppingham (a preparatory school) in 1898 and gained six years' experience there which was no doubt a useful memory when he came to hold a position on the Board of Governors of Cordwalles. There followed two years of travel in search of a climate suited to his indifferent health, before Hugh-Jones appointed him as junior classics master at Michaelhouse in 1907, when he was already in his middle-thirties.

Whether it was because he was a product of the late Victorian and early Edwardian period, or not, he was noted at Michaelhouse, even as an assistant master, for his adherence to principles and for a somewhat remote dignity which were to contribute substantially to the steady development of Michaelhouse after the war. It seems probable, too, that the fact that he arrived in 1907 helped to shape his attitude to the way in which Michaelhouse should develop, for in that year and the next the school reached the peak of its pre-war achievements: years full of promise which were followed by two years of disappointment and severe strain for Hugh-Jones, struggling to maintain the school with inadequate resources. With this experience behind him, the fluctuation in the school's numbers at the end of Brown's term of office and during the interregnum which followed could reasonably be interpreted as a warning that whatever developments took place should have deep and secure foundations.

The strength of his convictions and the quality of his leadership were perhaps not fully known to the governors when they appointed him Acting Rector from the beginning of 1917, for they deliberately did not make a permanent appointment, hoping for a time when they would have a wider field of choice; but after six months, their decision was unanimous that he should be appointed Rector, and in fact Pascoe had longer to imprint his personality on the school than any other holder of the office except Snell.

When Pascoe assumed duty as Acting Rector, the numbers at the school were at the record figure of 94; a year later he was able to report the 'truly astonishing' fact that there were now 112 and soon afterwards he warned that parents should apply eighteeen months in advance to ensure the entrance of their sons to the

school. By 1920 there were over twice as many boys as there had been at the beginning of Brown's rectorship less than ten years earlier and—apart from a drop to 116 at the beginning of 1922 occasioned by the trade depression—numbers remained above 120, the largest number being 126 in Pascoe's last year.

The enrolment at other diocesan schools indicated growing support too—St Andrew's, for instance, was full with over 250 boys soon after the war and endured a period of cramped accommodation; and Bishop's entered a period of vigorous expansion under Birt. It would therefore be tempting to attribute the waiting lists at Michaelhouse simply to a general increase in secondary education. But growth was by no means uniform during this period. Hilton suffered a serious set-back in the twenties, largely as a result of a severe epidemic; and in the Natal government schools most closely resembling Michaelhouse, Maritzburg College dropped from 259 in 1918 to 190 in 1926 and Durban High School from 504 to 404. There were moreover, many vacancies in the Boarding Establishments of these schools. It is true that secondary classes were being developed in the country schools but, as the Superintendent of Education noted in 1924, this did not wholly explain the 'startling' decline in numbers at the schools in the two cities, and the development was, in any case, an additional challenge to Michaelhouse.

Pascoe himself must therefore be given generous credit for the increase by a third in the school's enrolment and for the steady maintenance of the numbers over ten years. His problem, indeed, was quite different from that of his predecessors: it was to ensure that the increase in numbers did not outstrip the resources of the school, for he was under considerable pressure to admit more boys.

Pascoe was initially not opposed in principle to a much larger school—as early as 1920 he averred that the school could reach 200 if the accommodation were available and two years later he urged the Governors to buy Nurden's adjoining property if it came on the market. But the condition—'if accommodation were available'—was of the utmost importance to him: as he put it to the Governors in 1922, the school should not be enlarged until it had been 'brought to a high degree of efficiency'. He went on to list a multitude of requirements, from new science buildings, a gymnasium and an enlarged chapel to a larger laundry and 'some apparatus for warming the school baths and the colder

classrooms.' Only a month before his resignation, Pascoe continued to argue that 'the time was not opportune' to increase numbers and he pointed to additional needs of the school. Perhaps the sad deterioration in his health made Pascoe unconsciously shrink from the responsibilities of a large school so that, although he could envisage a school of two hundred and forty or fifty as the maximum at which 'the tone and quality of this school can be satisfactorily maintained', the reasons for containing the numbers seemed more cogent than those for expanding them. And the needs were in truth legion, of which the most substantial was a new hall.

Before the end of the war, the Board discussed what form the memorial to those Old Boys who had fallen should take, and the Governors accepted Pascoe's suggestion that it should be a hall. Charles Tatham had already indicated that he wished the estate of his son, Iron Mordaunt Tatham, to be used to erect a memorial; soon after the war the school received £500 from the estate of another Old Boy who had been killed, George Brown; and, with £1,000 from F. S. Tatham and donations from other Governors and friends of the school, the Memorial Fund was generously launched. Fleming was asked to design a hall for 200 and all seemed set to go ahead when he submitted plans at the beginning of 1920.

The Governors, however, were still short of funds; the plans became more ambitious when the Board decided to build a new kitchen block at the same time to replace the gimcrack structure which had caused increasing irritation in its twenty years of life: and the Board hopefully (though not unanimously) agreed to a proposal of F. S. Tatham that they should wait in the expectation of a drop in prices. Even to the last there were doubts whether the school could go ahead, for when tenders were called in 1922, the lowest for the complete building was some £5,000 more than the funds available, in spite of two donations totalling £4,000 from the Rhodes Trustees—the first donation from a Trust not associated with the Church—and the Bishop doubted the wisdom of adding to the school's debt. The kitchen block was so clearly an urgent requirement that they decided to go ahead with it first and shortly afterwards it was agreed to sign a contract with J. Barrow for the entire building, shorn of some of its adornments (including the teak panelling in the body of the hall). Fortunately on some aesthetic issues the Governors decided against short-term economies (notably the use of tiles for the roof and the

delightful fléche with St Michael and the dragon); and the teak panelling was eventually included through the generosity of individual donors, though it was some years before the whole hall was panelled.

The dedication of the Memorial Hall in March 1924 was a solemn occasion, with the Bishop, General Tanner and Mr Justice Tatham representing three pillars of society. There was the quite unprecedented concourse of fifty or so cars which managed to struggle through the mud to their destination and over a hundred Old Boys were present. They not only heard Tatham's moving anatomy of war; it was also in a sense an occasion for the re-dedication of the whole school, for the opening of the original Balgowan buildings had never been marked by a formal act because of the South African War. The omission was now repaired by the dedication of 'the Founder's Stone' at the main entrance to the school buildings. Moreover, with Brown's parents present at the dedication of a plaque to commemorate their son in Hugh-Jones's chapel, it was as if the school's growth to maturity in twenty-eight years were being dramatised in the day's ceremonies; and the association with Maritzburg College, which had been a notable feature of the early days in Pietermaritzburg, was happily symbolised in the presence of their enthusiastic bandmaster, Goldstone, and a boy with a cornet.

The new buildings added dignity to the appearance of the school by balancing the chapel on the east with the Hall's front commemorating the fallen and challenging those who approached the school, and by providing an almost complete west wing. They also eased the accommodation crisis with which Pascoe had wrestled for so long. The old hall could now be used as a science laboratory; the kitchen block not only simplified the cook's unenviable task but provided rooms for the housekeeper and assistant matron and two spare rooms for guests (with improvements in transport, this had become an important consideration); and, to complete the ground floor of the west wing there were two more classrooms, with foundations to take a second storey, teak floors and 'the most modern desks and blackboards.' (The second floor of classrooms was completed two years later, with a wretched stairway designed, it seemed, to cause the maximum of congestion.)

Like Hugh-Jones, Pascoe was concerned to make the chapel a worthy centre of the school, both in its fabric and in the leadership which a chaplain could provide. He was sadly frustrated in his

efforts to secure a permanent chaplain and for most of his rectorship the school had to rely on visiting clergy, especially from Karkloof, and his own (very considerable) qualities as a spiritual leader. After Harrington Johnson left in 1918 for parochial work, for instance, it was nearly four years before his post was filled—by C. E. Briggs, who had been chaplain for a time under Brown; and Briggs met a tragic death at the end of 1922 when he was struck in the abdomen with a cricket ball and died of peritonitis, a loss which Pascoe felt very keenly. After another hiatus of over a year, the brother of the Lady Warden of St Anne's was appointed, but his sojourn proved to be short, and, after a few months, he was succeeded by the Rev W. Vonberg, a science graduate from Manchester.

In spite of these difficulties, Pascoe was able to report proudly in 1925 that the number of communicants was increasing—and the fact that he reported this is an indication of the importance for the life of the school which he attached to corporate acts of worship.

Moreover, the chapel itself was considerably improved, first by a series of windows, designed by Miss Rope of Fulham and donated in memory of four Old Boys killed in the war (Strapp and three Tathams), the wife of the bursar (Stewart) and Hannah's brother, killed in the South African War—a series whose colours lack the richness of the windows of the new chapel but whose design has a delicate charm. More important were extensions to the chapel for which Pascoe began to press as soon as the Hall project was well launched; and before he was compelled to resign he had the happiness of seeing the enlargements completed and the roof converted from iron to tiles. (One of the minor curiosities of the extension is that the chapel itself was on land owned by the Diocesan Trustees, while the vestry was not, the chapel building being for the first time connected with the east wing.) One other improvement to the chapel services he was not destined to enjoy. With the increase in numbers, Pascoe's musical ear and respect for orderliness were increasingly discomfited by the inability of the small harmonium to control the lusty but not always musical or rhythmic voices of a hundred and twenty or more boys, and when he went on leave in 1926 he was asked by the Governors to look for a suitable pipe organ. This he did, but the organ arrived only after he had resigned.

Of many other additions to the school's amenities, including

another music room, which relieved the Rector of the painful necessity of listening to boys practising in his drawing-room, the most important concerned staff accommodation, especially for married men. So long as there were no houses for married members of the teaching staff, the Rector was seriously restricted in his field of choice for appointments and in any case he regarded it as an unhealthy situation to have only single men. The first married master after Ferrar was Briggs, who was able to use the rondavels planned (by Sir George Leuchars) for van der Horst, who left before they were complete. They were bought by the school when Briggs left and subsequently occupied by K. M. Pennington. The purchase of Nurden's property on the eve of Pascoe's departure on leave in 1926 provided another house which Vonberg was the first to use; but married couples were so uncommon that when Mrs Pennington was expecting a baby, K. M. Pennington was obliged to take her for a walk after dark.

Staffing the school adequately was made the more difficult by the fact that Michaelhouse was unable to offer 'sufficiently liberal salaries', as Pascoe put it as early as 1917. Though salaries were raised before the end of the war (the scale went from £150 to £250 a year) and again in 1919, men showed an interest in coming to the school only until they learned the salary; and, in spite of yet another rise, the salaries compared unfavourably with those in the government service, especially as there was no pension scheme. The governors were well aware of the difficulties, and an offer by Sir Goerge Leuchars to contribute himself to improved salaries forced the issue and led to an increase in fees in 1921 from £80 to £110 a year. This enabled Sir George to convert his offer to a gift to reduce the school's indebtedness and encouraged generous donations from other governors, so that the school's debt was reduced by £2,000, half the sum coming from H. J. Butcher.

Pascoe had therefore frequently to be content with appointments which he knew were to be temporary, like Leif Egeland and E. L. G. Schnell, both of whom left for Oxford after a short time, the former as a Rhodes Scholar. The picture was not, however, one of unrelieved gloom. Adair was still there and so was Bishop, and though their subjects (chemistry and mathematics) came in for severe criticism in a report which W. F. Bushell was asked to write when Pascoe was on leave, they both contributed a great deal outside the classroom. Moreover, when one of the men who had been temporarily on the staff learned of the dire need of the school,

he gave up his position as a lawyer (and incidentally as Secretary to the Board of Governors) to return to the school: having been the first Old Boy on the teaching staff in 1922 K. M. Pennington returned in 1925 and served the school devotedly—one hesitates to say for 33 years, for his service has continued since his retirement in 1958.

Pascoe was able to make three other appointments which were as nearly permanent as such things can be. In 1921, J. C. Byrne came as carpentry instructor and was soon an invaluable clerk of works, structural adviser, general handyman and, with his wife, supplier of chickens and other delicacies to the boys. Two years later T. A. Strickland came from damp Ireland to an even damper Balgowan—he asserted that the rains marooned him for his first six weeks—where he reformed rugby and the science laboratories, stung boys into remarkable activity and created a tradition for Foundation East before his sadly crippled frame precipitated his retirement in 1946. And in 1927, the first Afrikaans-speaking master to remain more than a few years arrived. This was P. D. Barnard, whose voice was soon familiar on the parade ground and remained unmistakable on the touch line until he moved over to government service in 1951. If Pascoe had achieved nothing else, the appointment of these men would have been a considerable bequest to his successors: each very different, each with his own idiosyncrasies and each contributing to the development of the school during its most marked period of growth: there had never been such a permanent nucleus before in Michaelhouse's history.

The only man whose teaching could challenge these in length of service was Alfred Henry (Billy) Adair, who arrived in 1903 to establish science in the school, so that his wood and iron laboratory was the precursor of the present elaborate science block. No one would claim that his teaching there or in the classroom was inspiring—he followed the not uncommon practice of getting boys to learn the text book by heart on pain of many extra hours of copying pages for the good of their souls if not their scientific comprehension. Nevertheless a good deal was no doubt learned incidentally in the course of mild practical jokes which he tolerated, provided they were not serious or dangerous. It is, however, for his work outside the classroom that he is most affectionately remembered. There were his visits to the dormitories, carrying his hurricane lamp (till electricity made this superfluous) and ready for a cosy chat or a story; there was his

almost too meticulous refereeing of home matches for fifteen years; and there was his coaching of the first buglers and drummers—a feat which those sympathetic to school cadet bands would regard as particularly remarkable, since Adair was quite unmusical himself. The cadet corps, indeed, became his especial interest when there ceased to be a resident Drill Instructor, and for years he conducted the parades regularly twice a week. In between these extra-curricular yet conventional schoolmasterly activities, he found time to advise on, design and supervise various additions to the fabric of the school and to repair its furniture—including the faithful old harmonium. But perhaps his regard for the school is demonstrated most clearly in the way he returned to act as Rector when the Governors could find no one else to fill the gap between Pascoe's retirement and the arrival of Bushell. It was fitting that when he died at the ripe age of 83 in 1956, he was buried in the school cemetery, just a few months after his successor as senior science master, Strickland, who was, like him, an Irishman.

Adair, Bishop, Strickland and Crawford were the only assistants who served under Pascoe for more than three years at a stretch. To them should be added Hannah, in spite of his frequent departures for health or family reasons. The paucity of men who saw a generation of boys through the school did not, however, prevent Pascoe from trying to improve the scholastic standards. One of his first acts was to institute Saturday evening prep (partly to keep the boys out of mischief). The boys walked out en masse to the fields as a protest, but when someone wondered aloud 'What'll Pascoe do?' they had second thoughts about his determination and returned to the old Hall. There they were quietly but stingingly rebuked by Pascoe. No major changes were made in the curriculum, apart from the introduction of Afrikaans in place of Dutch in 1922 and the abandonment of Cambridge Locals in favour of the Cape Junior Certificate three years later; and the school forms continued to run from the second to the upper fifth (who wrote the matriculation examination). In 1917, six boys returned for a sixth form, but Pascoe felt his staffing difficulties did not enable him to provide an adequate course for them and the initiation of a real Sixth Form had to await his successor's drive. Even the number entered for the matriculation examination did not increase spectacularly—from twelve in 1916 to about seventeen ten years later; and the examination results

fluctuated considerably, with 1924 and 1926 the vintage years, each providing one first class pass. Bushell, indeed, was unimpressed by the standard at Michaelhouse when he acted as Rector during Pascoe's final leave.

He attributed the poor standard chiefly to the circumscribing effect of the matriculation regulations—he regarded it as a 'real misfortune' that boys were confined to only six subjects—and to the outmoded syllabuses, especially in mathematics and science (which did not include electricity). But he drew attention, too, to weaknesses in the organisation, methods and equipment at Michaelhouse. He thought each subject should be placed under a specialist master personally responsible for its organisation and that mathematics especially suffered from having six masters teach it, without any apparent guidance about the syllabus or methods to be used. The methods of teaching the languages (French and Afrikaans) required revision. He was astonished to find geography taught without wall maps and felt that the library was 'gravely defective'—the boys, he was confident, were 'just as keen as English boys' to read and required only well-stocked, open shelves to encourage them to do so.

It is rarely that a school is reported on by anyone who is not only independent in the way that Bushell was when he made his comments, but who has also become thoroughly involved in the school's activities. It is therefore not possible to compare Michaelhouse with other South African schools, though many seem to have felt, like Bushell, that the matriculation regulations were unnecessarily restricting. Nevertheless, some of his observations were sufficiently precise to lend weight to Pascoe's own argument that the school was ill-equipped to take larger numbers: both men felt that the standards should be better, but, whereas Bushell believed that this could be achieved only by having larger numbers and therefore a larger staff, Pascoe believed that numbers should not be increased until the staff, equipment and facilities for extramural activities were sufficiently improved to make a sound education possible. Of one thing, Pascoe himself left boys in no doubt: that excellence was the aim of the school; and his own example was an inspiration to many.

Outside the classroom, rugby and cricket still enjoyed pride of place, with shooting not far behind. Athletics, never very strongly supported, languished from the early twenties; and tennis was not, on the whole, considered sufficiently manly and was a

rare privilege for a few senior boys, and squash was unkown at the school until Bushell's arrival. Since the main purpose of sport was considered to be neither amusement nor physical development but 'a lesson in subordinating personal interest', it is not surprising that team games (or cadets) monopolised the afternoons. It was, however, chiefly to the first teams that the staff devoted attention, the organisation of practices for the junior games being left largely to the team captains, with varying success.

The first XI was the most active team, playing over twenty matches each season and enjoying a tour every year from the 1919-1920 season. With Hannah and Stewart (the bursar) sharing or alternating the coaching duties, the first eleven was consistently successful, though, at the time, the 1924-25 season was considered unsuccessful when, out of 25 matches played, the team won only 13 and lost three. It no doubt seemed unsuccessful because it came after three years of quite remarkable achievements, in two of which (1921-22 and 1923-24) the team lost no school matches. The team in 1921 was captained by A. P. Woods, who was later to contribute so much to Michaelhouse (and Natal) cricket as a master, and among many sound players he had outstanding strength in Lawrence Trotter who succeeded him as captain. It was this team which, faced with the necessity of getting 120 in ninety minutes against Hilton, succeeded spectacularly with ten minutes to spare; and, while on tour, they beat a Bloemfontein team containing five Currie Cup players. The next season's team was hardly less successful, though they had the misfortune to lose by four runs to H. F. Wade's Hilton team. Perhaps the fact that an Old Boy, Herby Taylor, was not only Natal and South African captain but reaching the peak of his form—in the Test series against the M.C.C. in 1922-23 he scored three centuries—helped to inspire the boys. And among the younger boys in the school team was one, Alan Melville, who was to follow in Herby Taylor's footsteps. Encouraged by Hannah, he distinguished himself in 1926, taking ten wickets in a match against Crockett's XI, repeating Forder's 1903 achievement of a hundred wickets for the season, and scoring 820 runs. With a century in the last test in Durban before the war and three centuries in the United Kingdom in 1947, Melville became only the second player to score four successive centuries, a record surpassed only by the West Indian, E. D. Weekes.

The vintage years in rugby were 1921 and 1922, rivalling the

1906 season. Organised by Hannah and captained by Jack Elliot, the 1921 team scored 284 points against their opponents' 68 and had the distinction not only of gaining seven places in the Natal Schools team (with Elliot as captain) but of having Elliot chosen for the Natal team and Miles Young as reserve. The following year, with first Trotter and then McKenzie as captain, and coached by Adair, K. M. Pennington and sometimes K. Mowat, the team won all but one school match (a draw with Hilton). Tours were not the regular feature which Hannah made them for cricket, but there was a memorable visit to the Eastern Province in 1923 under Strickland, distinguished by the first game against another diocesan school (St Andrew's) and a taxi journey from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown periodically halted by half-a-dozen punctures—a remarkable total even for those days of high-pressure tyres and poor roads. The next years were not so successful, but to be a member of the fifteen was still to be numbered among the demi-gods, to whom due respect must be shown, particularly by watching first game practices, a duty which remained obligatory until Bushell's time.

Though sport was treated with seriousness, there were Saturday evenings of almost unalloyed lightness. Dressed suitably for an 'occasion' in blue suits, stiff collars and white socks, the boys were periodically entertained by the indefatigable F. S. Bishop and any others he persuaded to join him in a series of farces. The Dramatic Society, including Douglass Pennington, who was later to stimulate a generation of Michaelhouse boys to unwonted histrionic achievements, was revived as a group in 1922 and with a wonderful catholicity of taste presented in succession *Ikona Mali*, *The Grace of Allah* (a musical supported by an orchestra of Mrs Bynoe and four boys) and scenes from *The Rivals* and *Twelfth Night*. Four years later, E. Strangman produced an abridged version of *The Merchant of Venice*, but the Society had an uncertain life and concerts were more common than plays.

The concerts were nearly all lively affairs of the whole community, including as occasion (or F. S. Bishop) demanded the matron (Mrs Roberts), T. A. Strickland and other members of the staff as well as an assortment of boys; and the purpose was clearly entertainment, not 'improvement', noisy community singing alternating with delicate instrumental solos and nostalgic Victorian ballads contrasting with the freshly primitive jazz of the band led by Gerald Pennington.

Formal lectures, such as had characterised Saturday evenings in Hugh-Jones's time, and were re-introduced by Bushell, were rare, but a visit by the Rev. Earp Jones, pioneer of the Missions to Seamen in Durban, was a notable exception, especially because he gave a 'bioscope exhibition', the first (and for a long time the only) use of the infant medium at the school.

Though little was organised for the boys in their spare time, initiative was encouraged or at least tolerated. There was only a mild protest at the playing of 'gramophones and ukeleles' until ten at night, and there was positive pride in the enthusiasm for wireless which found expression in the construction by a group of boys of a 'Three Valve Dual'—a great improvement on the more common crystal set. The return of K. M. Pennington to the permanent staff infused new life into the Natural History Society and he and Bushell energetically resurrected the Debating Society with five Tuesday afternoon debates in the winter of 1926; but there was little else. Perhaps the absence of organised activities stimulated a sturdy self-reliance and a healthy suspicion of organising authority in many boys; but the absence no doubt also contributed to the survival of the practice of ducking juniors in the plunge bath till they gasped if they were so unwise as to be still there when seniors returned from their games ready for additional entertainment. It was no doubt partly for this reason that Bushell regarded the provision of more occupations to improve the 'social life' of the school as 'the most important of all (the suggestions) I have had the honour of making', and Pascoe's great fear was that the school might be enlarged before it was equipped to ensure that 'every boy should have the opportunity of discovering what his own contribution to the world can be.'

There were, it is true, occasional excitements to vary the regular school routine, some of them quite fortuitous. Soon after the war, for instance, boys woke up in the middle of the night to the acrid smell of smoke coming from the bootroom. Their paraffin tins, used normally to collect hot water from the laundry, made an adequate substitute for a fire hose and the boys were soon organised in a chain stretching from the plunge to the fire, so that by the time Pascoe was aroused and on the scene (with a shaving mug of water according to one story; with a candle according to other, probably more reliable, witnesses) the fire was almost out. (The cause was never firmly established, but it seems likely that the debris of ages in a much-used lantern caught alight when the

candle—which should have been extinguished—burned down to the bottom.)

A more acceptable diversion was the organisation of a picnic from time to time, either for the choir or for the whole school, when Hannah's 'Yellow Jane' or ox-wagons were laden with food for the outing. Or there was the cadet parade in 1925 for the Prince of Wales, when Michaelhouse, in a uniform of white shirt, blue shorts, forage cap with a white cover and red band (introduced only the previous year to replace the oppressively hot jersey and knickers and designed largely by Adair), joined the other detachments in Pietermaritzburg. This was an occasion memorable especially because the Prince granted an extra week's holiday to all the schools in honour of Hilton's winning the Governor-General's cup for the third year in succession.

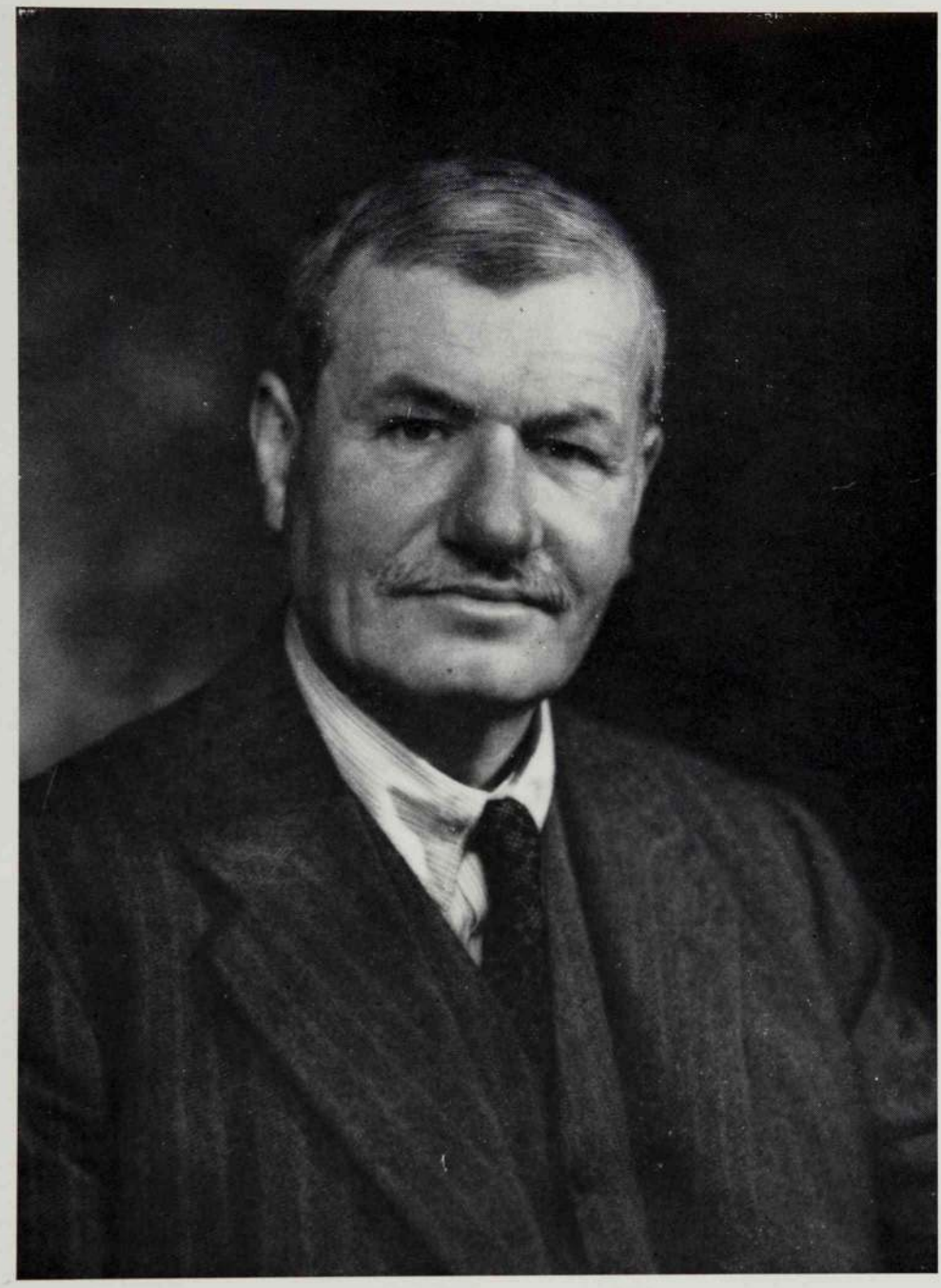
On the whole, however, life at Balgowan was tranquil and secure. There was a steady succession of lessons in the mornings, cricket or rugby or cadets in the afternoons, and prep in the evenings; daily chapel services (with senior boys as lectors an innovation by Pascoe) and mattins and evensong on Sundays, a Choral Eucharist replacing mattins on occasion; and 'free bounds' after mattins. After thirty years, indeed, the pattern was not substantially different from that established by Todd.

Pascoe had sought to etch that pattern more clearly in the life of Michaelhouse, to elaborate here and there, but not to impose a new design. He dedicated himself to the task, and his dignified, unhurried presence earned him the respect of boys, staff and governors. It is probable that he was not fully aware of some of the barbaric bullying practices which had become entrenched in school tradition; and he was so convinced of the virtue of a small school that he did not fully appreciate the severe limitations which small numbers placed on developing precisely those facilities which he so much desired.

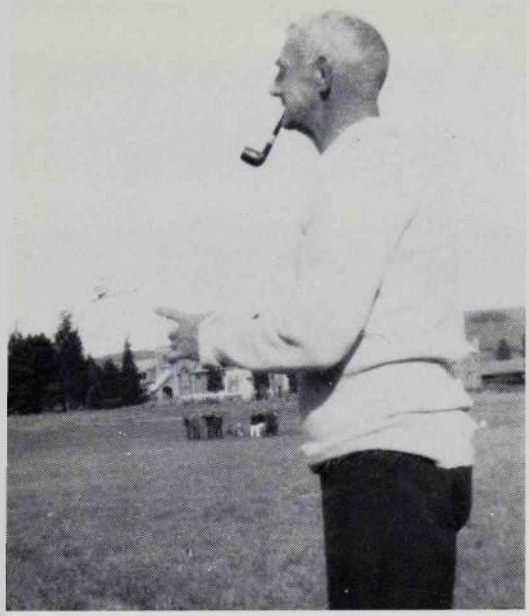
Pascoe was nevertheless able to claim in 1922 that he had 'never known the school life marked by a healthier spirit of manly conduct, clean sportsmanship and loyalty,' a claim which the steady support for the school substantiated. His selflessness was almost proverbial—even when his illness forced him to resign, his chief concern was that he had caused an emergency for the school and the governors by not being able to give them a year's notice; and he was impelled by the strong conviction that religion ought to be at the heart of the school. There is no question that the

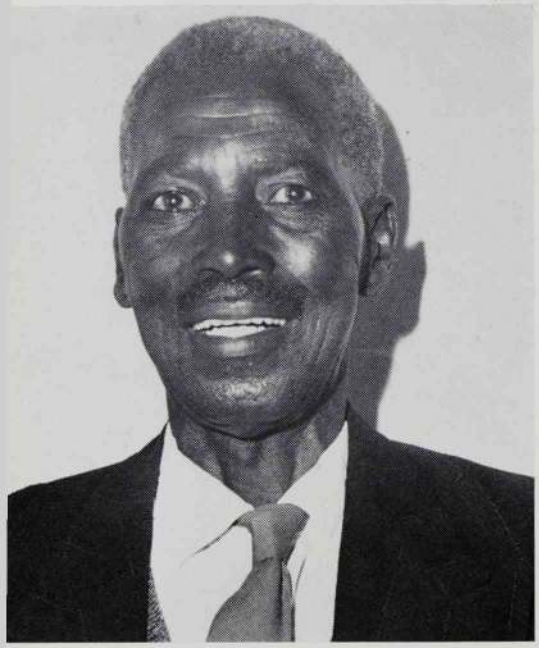
Bishop was reflecting the opinion of those closely associated with Pascoe's work when he wrote: 'The loss will be great. It is impossible to exaggerate what we owe to Mr Pascoe for the position which the school now occupies.' When he died soon after his resignation, he was buried at the school.

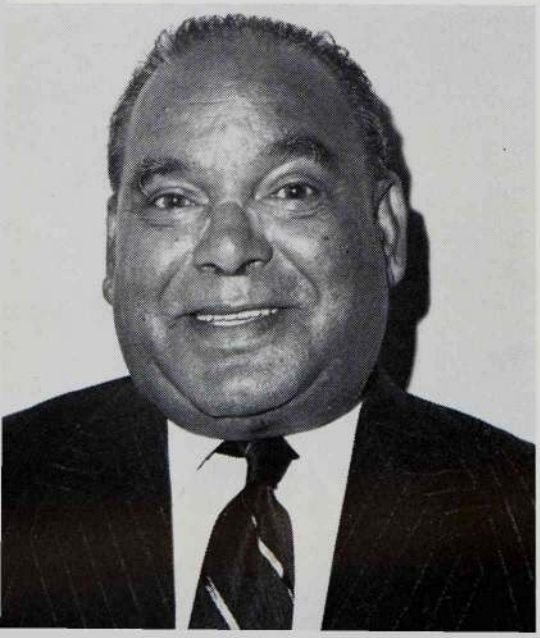
The school was to be inspired with new vigour by his successor, but its sinews were already sufficiently tough to be able to respond to the new demands made upon the body politic of Michaelhouse.



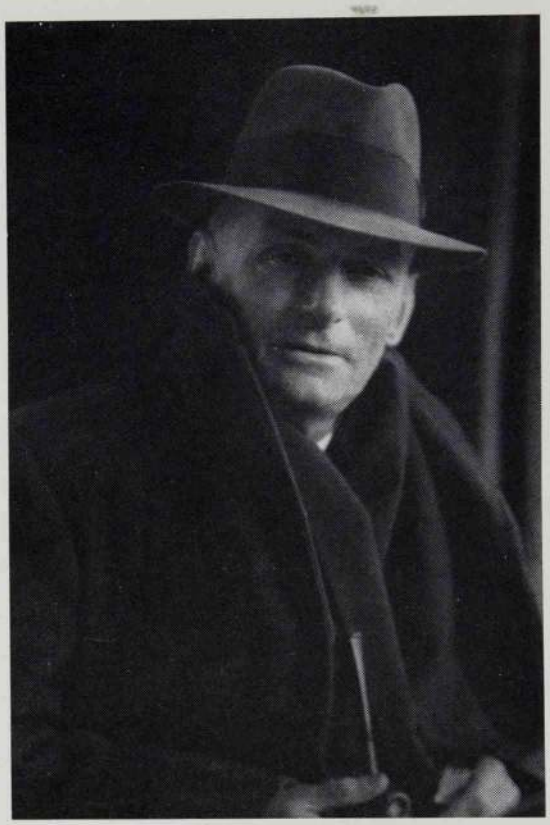
WARIN FOSTER BUSHELL
Rector 1927-1929

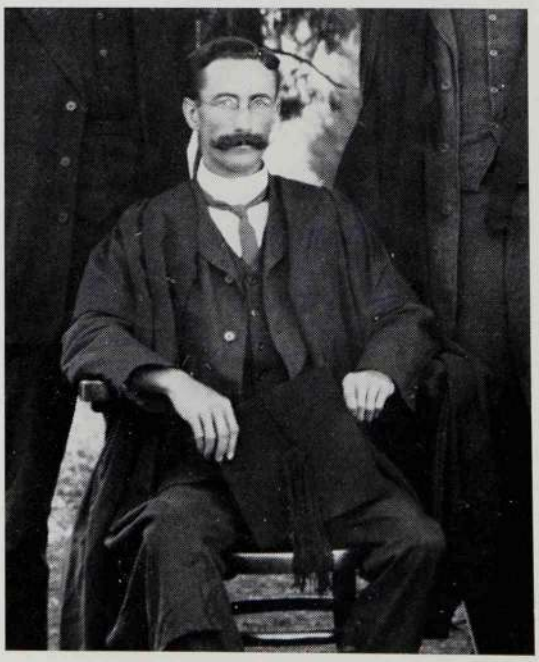






Staff from the First Twenty Years





Top left: F. S. Bishop, B.A.(LOND), 1913-1927, 1940-1942
Centre left: Philemon Majoli, 1921-1961
Bottom left: S. Baboo Ram, 1915-1968
Top right: C.W. Hannah, M.A.(OXON), 1898-1905, most of 1910-1913, most of 1917-1923, 1924-1930
Bottom right: A.H. Adair, M.A.(T.C.D.), 1903-1924, 1927

CHAPTER SEVEN

Bushell: Vitality and Change 1927-1929

WHEN W. F. Bushell was appointed Rector of Michaelhouse, he had had a wider experience in schoolmastering than any other Rector. Indeed he was, it might be said, born into the task, for his father was a housemaster at Harrow and was there as master or chaplain for fifty years, and he became proudly conscious of the vigorous traditions of the public school which owed their vitality to Arnold and others.

Bushell himself went to Charterhouse, where housemasters were still remote from their boys and relied too much on their monitors, and where the curriculum still hardly allowed for science or mathematics (Bushell was one of the few allowed to specialise in Euclidean mathematics). From Charterhouse he went on to read mathematics for three years at King's, Cambridge, and won the distinction of a place among the Wranglers (those in the first class) when the course was still essentially traditional but reverence for Euclid and the form of Newton's propositions was beginning to be effectively questioned. Bushell elected to stay on for a fourth year to take three subjects in the Natural Science Tripos. That he was later to press for better laboratories at Michaelhouse and for a reform of the matriculation mathematics syllabus is not, therefore, surprising.

Perhaps his first appointment also coloured his attitude to the pace of expansion of Michaelhouse, for he went to Gresham's School which had grown under a new headmaster and in new buildings from 50 boys in 1900 to about 200, when Bushell joined the staff, and it was a school in which the 'fresh breeze' of new ideas was blowing. From Norfolk he moved in 1912 on promotion to the Victorian foundation of Rossall in Lancashire, where the headmaster hoped in general that Bushell would raise

its intellectual standards but sometimes required forceful persuasion to agree to particular changes. Bushell was soon appointed senior housemaster, a post which gave him 'seven of the happiest years' of his life, interrupted by what he looked back on as the broadening experience of service with the Herefordshire Regiment in Palestine and at Ypres.

Bushell's first headship was in 1921 at Solihull, an ancient grammar school foundation, receiving a subsidy from the county authorities but not yet adjusted, financially or otherwise, to the changing post-war conditions. Under Bushell the school grew from about 200 boys to 300, and, in spite of some opposition, nearly forty acres were added to the school property. A house system was introduced, with Bushell himself as a matter of principle being one of the housemasters, the scope of the extra-curricular activities was widened and school runs were introduced.

He was in the middle of this expansion when the Bishop of Natal asked him to take over Michaelhouse temporarily while Pascoe went on leave in 1926. The bishop had to be persuasive, but the Solihull governors were co-operative and granted Bushell leave. Since it was a temporary post, there was no real possibility of great changes being carried out, but in the few months that he was at Michaelhouse Bushell displayed his characteristic enthusiasm and energy so effectively that when Pascoe was forced to resign through ill health at the end of 1926, the Governors immediately resolved to invite Bushell to succeed him, and cabled him accordingly. Bushell was not enthusiastic: he was beginning to see the fruits of his work at Solihull, where he was happy; he hoped to become headmaster of a larger school in England in the fairly near future, and Michaelhouse was not only smaller but would take him out of range of useful contacts. Moreover, he was aware of the deficiencies in the equipment and of the somewhat raw society at Michaelhouse. He was nevertheless a man who welcomed a challenge and he valued the opportunity to forge links between Britain and a member of the Empire so that, when he was assured that certain conditions would be met—the most important being the promise of a separate house for the Rector and the acceptance of a policy of expansion—he accepted the invitation at a salary of £1,250.

If one includes the period when he was acting rector, Bushell was at Michaelhouse less than three years—he left in December 1929—but it was a crucial rectorship which dragged the school

out of a basically pre-war framework (in general tone as well as in classroom activities) and established some of the conditions necessary for healthy growth. Like Hugh-Jones, Bushell was convinced that many of the activities of a school have to be deliberately organised if the school as a whole is to serve its educational purposes, but he had a robust vigour which Hugh-Jones lacked and he had, moreover, the advantage of firm traditions to work from. There was hardly a field of Michaelhouse's activities which was not turned over and sown with new ideas in the space of three springs.

Bushell found the work at the school frustratingly cramped by the requirements of the matriculation examination which virtually restricted the curriculum to six subjects. Moreover, like his predecessors, he found staffing a matter of 'exceptional difficulty': there was nothing in South Africa comparable to the University Appointments Boards and the scholastic agencies in England; salaries were uninviting; and there was the additional problem of a lack of married quarters. About the matriculation conditions he could do nothing, though he may have interested a few individuals —including his brother-in-law, Professor Roseveare of the Natal University College—in some ideas for syllabus reform.

Of the staff, two who had been stalwarts but somewhat mixed blessings (Adair and Bishop) left on the eve of Bushell's arrival; but Hannah was firmly established, K. M. Pennington had already begun to make his distinctive contribution, Strickland was trying to improve the science and Barnard had joined the staff after Pascoe's resignation but before Bushell arrived. He managed to keep the staff full, partly by making use of English connections, sometimes by making appointments that he knew were temporary; and some of the men had had a distinguished background, like G. Hattingh (a Rhodes scholar, whose life ended in confusion and tragedy). But with one exception (Colin Melville) none of the thirteen who came in Bushell's time were to remain at the school for long. Bushell hoped to create greater stability by appointing more South Africans, but he found it 'surprisingly difficult.'

Bushell was nevertheless able to introduce some changes which made more effective use of the staff. One suggestion he made but did not carry out was to rename the forms 'blocks': A (matriculants), B, C and D (third form), each of which could be divided into sets. (The change was eventually made by Snell). He added to the curriculum what amounted to a general knowledge period:

a regular series of Saturday evening lectures supported by lantern slides, the lecturers being either Bushell himself or a visitor and the subjects ranging from Oberammergau to Mount Everest. The most distinguished of the lecturers was the Rt. Hon. V. S. S. Sastri, whose 'pungent logic, restraint and sincerity' on the education of Indians clearly impressed itself on the school. Besides his own subject, mathematics, he strove most energetically to improve the standard of science which he felt was bound to remain 'quite remarkably low' as long as physics and chemistry were required to use the same laboratory (the present library, which had been in use as a laboratory only since the Memorial Hall was built); and he persuaded the Governors to allow the basement of the Hall to be converted to a physics laboratory, to which the Abe Bailey Trust contributed.

There were, however, two changes of a more fundamental nature. The first reflected his support for Samuel Johnson's thesis: 'Have as many books about you as you can; let a boy first read *any* English book which helps to engage his attention because you have done a great deal when you have brought him to have entertainment from a book.' Almost his first achievement was a reorganisation which provided the juniors with a reading room above the library (at the top of the tower); he enlisted the support of parents and of the Bailey Trust to build up the stock of books; and the books were no longer locked up so that free borrowing was allowed.

The other change was to resume a Sixth Form, which Pascoe had felt the school not sufficiently equipped to provide. Bushell started a post matric class with five boys in 1928 for he felt that without such a class the intellectual life of the school was bound to suffer. There were twelve at the beginning of the following year and one of them (F. B. Oscroft) passed all four subjects in the first year B.Sc. examinations. It was a notable experiment for Natal, though not the first in South Africa: apart from the early practice of including university classes in the schools before a teaching university was established, St Andrew's, under Kettlewell, introduced what was called a 'university class' in 1919, and Bishop's—in spite of some serious opposition because of an undertaking not to introduce university classes—introduced a post matriculation class in 1920 under Birt. (It is an interesting comment on the lack of real contact between the diocesan schools at the time that Bushell was considered a pioneer). The Sixth Form

has never enjoyed a prestige in South Africa comparable to that of the English Sixth Form, and for some time support for the form at Michaelhouse was uncertain, but there is no doubt Bushell's determined provision of a post matriculation course introduced a new and distinctive element into the Michaelhouse society.

That society was changed even more significantly by the establishment of the house system and by the rapid increase in numbers. As long as the school was small it was perhaps not necessary for the Rector to delegate the general care of the boys in a specific way, but as the school grew, the need to have men who could exert direct and personal influence on a manageable group of boys became more obvious, in the interests both of the boys themselves and of the tone of the school as a whole.

Michaelhouse had not been planned with a full house system in mind, with housemaster's accommodation an integral part of the house, separate feeding arrangements, prep rooms and common rooms; but Bushell was convinced that it was worth adapting the system to the situation and therefore established four houses in 1928. The purchase of Gibbs's house across the stream enabled Bushell to establish Hannah there with some sixteen boys and he hoped that this would be the start of a detached house system—the system he had experienced as a boy at Charterhouse and as a master at Gresham's and which he preferred to the 'hostel' system which Rossall operated; and he pressed the Governors hard to build a separate house for the Rector which would also house boys. The desirability of completing the quad and the governors' preference for the 'hostel' system, however, ensured that the original form in which the houses were established became the permanent pattern—including, even, the awkward practice of splitting a new house between dormitories in the main building and a house in the grounds.

Initially it was Farfield House that was thus schizophrenically divided—its name derived from the name given to Gibbs's cottage, because it was in the 'far field'. Two of the other houses were named, with an extraordinary determination to be neutral, after the points of the compass (Bushell felt that the names of governors-general were overworked in South African schools and no other names seemed to meet general approval): Foundation East was established in the south-east corner of the quad, under Strickland, and Foundation West was established in the new buildings at the west end of the south block of the quad, under

K. M. Pennington. The fourth house, Rector's—subsequently Foundation North and still later Founder's—was at the north end of the eastern block and was under Bushell himself.

The house system is now such an integral part of Michaelhouse that it is difficult to realise that in the twenties it was not a system in universal operation; and one of the remarkable features of its introduction at Michaelhouse is that the *Chronicle* makes hardly a reference to its significance: there is a reference to inter-house matches being organised, to the appointment of house prefects and to the appointment of housemasters, but no philosophising about the potential value of what must have seemed to many simply a tidy administrative device. Yet before very long the significance of the change could be dramatised in the distinctive tone of the two houses which retained their original housemasters: a Spartan rigour seemed to characterise East as against the Roman urbanity of West.

Much was to depend on the quality of the housemasters in the future and on the relationship between them and the Rector, probably more than was realised by any at the time except Bushell, for during the interregnum between Bushell and Currey, Hannah took the extraordinary step of making a permanent appointment to a housemastership, which could have been a source of friction had tact not been a characteristic of the in-coming Rector and a cheerful good nature a characteristic of P. D. Barnard, the already installed housemaster. The fact that the houses at Michaelhouse were organised on the 'hostel' system meant that the dangers of an *imperium in imperio* were avoided, but it meant that the balance of the Rector's authority against the housemasters' freedom had to be finely adjusted if friction were to be avoided; and there were times of friction—especially under the stress of difficulties during and immediately after the second World War—but since it was a society of vigorous individuals and not a machine which was thus organised, it could hardly have been otherwise. Certainly, the housemasters were in a better position to keep the Rector informed about and to exercise directly a civilising influence on the ordinary —or extraordinary—conduct of the boys than had been possible when these had been the responsibilities of everyone and no one. Without some delegation of function, indeed, the school could hardly have adjusted satisfactorily to the rapid expansion in numbers.

Shortly before he resigned, Pascoe reported to the governors

that it was his considered opinion that the time was not yet ripe to increase the numbers, which stood at 136 for the beginning of 1927. By the beginning of 1928 there were 157; and the following year there were 195, including 76 new boys (nearly half the school), an increase of over forty per cent in just over two years. (In Natal government and government-aided schools the number of boys in secondary classes rose, too, between 1927 and 1929, but by only 26%). Most of the entrants still came from Natal, with Cordwalles, of course, supplying the largest single contingent; but Bushell was able to strengthen links with the Transvaal through his acquaintance with an old Harrovian prep school headmaster and in 1928 there were five boys from Cedric School in Rhodesia. The expansion was partly the result of a deliberate policy to draw on a wider catchment area, and the introduction of entrance scholarships in August 1927 fitted into this plan—the first awards went to A. H. Bayne and A. A. Lloyd from Maritzburg College and J. T. Albers from Estcourt.

The expansion was made possible partly by the purchase of Gibbs's property, which was made with the help of a loan from Bushell, but chiefly by the completion of the quad buildings. Preliminary negotiations for the latter began before Bushell's arrival (no doubt in response to Bushell's insistence that numbers should be increased) and Fleming drew the plans. The contract was given to a Pietermaritzburg firm (Henry Pratt); the foundation stone was laid by the bishop in February 1928; and the building was sufficiently near completion for boys to be moved into it in August—just over a year after the initial decision had been reached. Besides dormitory accommodation for 52 boys, the buildings provided a 'bath house' for the whole school, rooms for a tuck shop, a bursar's office and a dark room and quarters for two single masters. Thus was Todd's vision of the buildings completed and a fitting climax provided for the association of Bishop Baines with Michaelhouse. The link was emphasised by the fact that the quadrangle was paved at the same time and a fountain, a gift of the Old Boys, was set in the middle and dedicated to the memory of Todd at a ceremony at Michaelmas marking the completion of the project.

The starkness of Todd's bastion was rapidly being softened into something resembling a chateau. The quad was not only complete and its alternately muddy and dusty uneven surface transformed by paving, but its lines were softened by trees planted to associate

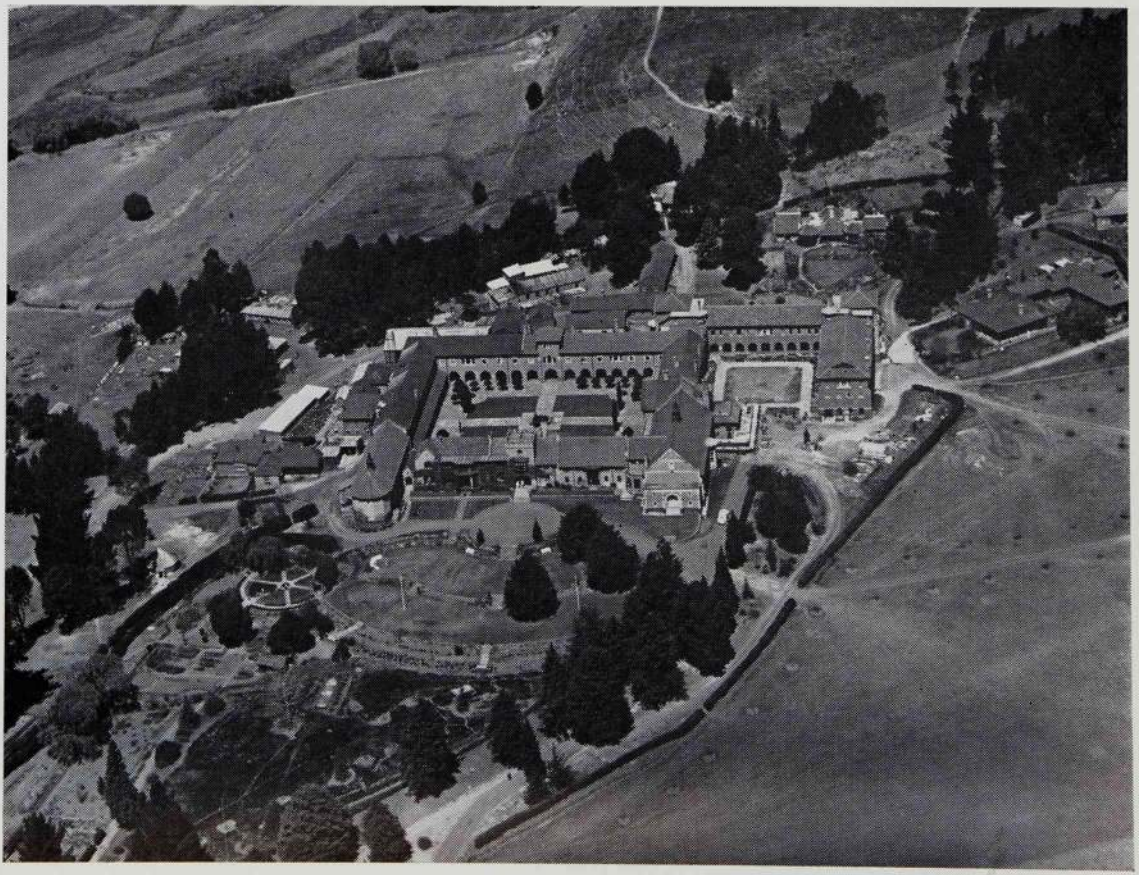
staff and governors, old boys and the present generation, the Natal Education Department and Hilton. The grounds were also becoming transformed, thanks to Archdeacon Pennington, who prepared the initial plans before Bushell's arrival and took a great interest in their execution, and to Mr Hunt Holley, who provided expert knowledge and help for the newly appointed and energetic Estates Manager, J. Aitken. In front of the school the gardens began to take shape; the road from the station was transformed into Warriors' Avenue by the planting of cypresses on Armistice Day 1927, which, however, had a struggle against the clay soil and were eventually replaced by pin oaks; and poplars were planted as a grand avenue on the south side of the hockey fields and as a future source of revenue near the old clay pits. The entrance was further improved and the sports facilities increased substantially by the creation of three new hockey fields (subsequently called Meadows and Tarpeys), and four house practice pitches; and at the other end of the grounds, another—and, as it turned out, successful—attempt was made to grass the Oval.

Bushell was concerned to diversify the sporting activities at Michaelhouse and the policy, of course, required changes in the grounds. Hockey was introduced in 1928 and the following year the first XI was bold enough to play three matches. Athletics enjoyed a revival, centred on Meadows, and Michaelhouse won the inter-schools match for the first time in 1929 with a narrow win over Durban High School, F. M. Hallowes contributing substantially by winning both the mile and the half mile in record times (4 min. 35.4 sec. and 2 min. 1.2 sec. respectively). Bushell also re-introduced cross-country runs, occasionally joining in himself, like Todd before him, and he gave them the name 'Rampart Run'. Tuition in boxing was provided for a time, but the difficulty of obtaining a suitable instructor to come up to the school proved too great for the continuation of the experiment. Tennis, on the other hand, with four courts now, gained in popularity and in 1929 the school won a match against St Andrew's. One sport—squash—owes a double debt to Bushell for he not only encouraged it but provided the funds for one of the two courts, the other being provided by funds from the tuck shop which he had recently started. Cadets too, with Barnard in charge, became a little less stereotyped, with a field day each quarter and a camp with Maritzburg College in 1929; and an improved rifle range was constructed which provided for a moving target; but drill

1912: From near the boundary: Baker's Chapel recently completed

1928: War Memorial Hall; panelling was completed later

1932: Quad paved and completed; terraces and rose garden laid out



1936: West and Farfield completed; quad grassed

(now changed to infantry drill) was still the staple diet, as it seems fated to remain in most South African schools.

In spite of the innovations, rugby and cricket remained the central sporting activities. In rugby, although Old Boys were doing well in provincial contests, with five playing for Natal in 1929 (C. J. Crowe, R. G. Armstrong, N. McKenzie, C. Hallowes and W. Elliott), the school's record was unspectacular. The 1928 team could, however, apparently claim to be pioneers in a sense, for a reporter of the *Natal Mercury*, commenting on the match, between Durban High School and Michaelhouse, disapproved strongly of the system of packing 3-4-1 used by Michaelhouse, although he had the grace to comment favourably on the low packing of the two teams.

For cricket, it was a golden age, with Herby Taylor still leading the Springboks and with a future Springbok captain—Alan Melville—leading the school team. Indeed, the 1928-29 team contained three future Springboks: Melville, Bob Harvey and Les Payn, and in that year both Harvey and Melville scored over 1,000 runs in the season. Melville was chosen to play for Natal in a team which contained two Old Boys: L. Trotter and A. F. Borland. Melville's record was altogether remarkable: in 1926/7 he took over a hundred wickets and topped the batting averages; in the next season he scored over 1,000 runs; and in his final year he scored over 1,000 runs, nearly repeated his 1926/7 bowling achievement, taking 90 wickets, and was selected for Natal. In addition, he was senior prefect, captain of cricket, tennis and hockey and sergeant-major in the cadets.

The members of the first fifteen and first eleven were no doubt the heroes of Michaelhouse society and their exploits continued to enjoy the lion's share of the *Chronicle*, but the organisation for lesser mortals' contests was becoming more elaborate: second, third and 'Bunnies' teams feature each year instead of spasmodically, though none of them had regular weekly matches against other schools; and house matches provided an element of keen competition for a large number of boys.

Other recognised activities remained minimal but enjoyed increasing support. The Natural History Society, stimulated by K. M. Pennington and with a more firmly established museum, made particular use of a substantial collection of lepidoptera. And Bushell's sister, Miss Bushell, gave enthusiastic and practical support to the cause of music, not only organising concerts with

the help of a school orchestra of a dozen boys but donating a new music room. Meanwhile, in spite of the departure of Bishop, theatricals continued to provide entertainment, the boys rising to Pinero's *The Magistrate* on one occasion and being suitably impressed by a visit of Sybil Thorndyke, though most of the productions were one act plays (*Thread o' Scarlet* made one of its many appearances at Michaelhouse in 1929) and variety shows.

Indeed, with the exception of 'an ingenious bioscope exhibition' and some addition to the variety of sport, the entertainments and activities of the boys were, on the surface, not very different from those of the first years of the century, and it is easy to understand that the boys themselves felt that the school was much the same as it had ever been.

The same: except, perhaps, for the eccentricities of a Rector whose attitude to discipline seemed out of tune with Michaelhouse's tradition. The contrast was great between Pascoe's dignified aloofness and Bushell's enthusiastic involvement, between a tradition that expected discipline to develop from obedience to set rules and a leader who averred that 'inward discipline' is shown in 'obeying to the maximum because (the boy) wants to, not in obeying to the minimum because he has to'. It was a contrast which no doubt diminished the prestige of Bushell in the eyes of some senior boys; but it was also symptomatic of the changes which were making it possible for Michaelhouse to adapt to changing conditions and to reflect some moderately advanced views on education. But Bushell did not see the adaptation itself take place, for he wrote a letter of resignation in June 1929 and it was accepted by the Bishop.

The immediate issue was a difference between Bushell and the Governors over the supervision of the sanatorium, which was then the responsibility of the matron, who was not a qualified nurse. Proposals and counter-proposals were made about the care of the boys' health and eventually the Governors instructed the Rector 'to dispense with the services' of the matron, an instruction which Bushell interpreted as improper interference in his sphere of authority.

The previous year there had been a serious difference of opinion between Bushell and at least some members of the Board of Governors about the interpretation of the Rector's contract, including such matters as the extent of the proposed expansion of the school and the promise to provide a proper Rector's house;

but, although feelings ran high, the dispute was satisfactorily settled. Indeed, in general, the Governors responded generously to Bushell's plans and appreciated the energy and vision which sometimes led him to impulsive proposals or impatient reactions; and Bushell, for his part, recognised that much of the conservatism of the Governors was a reflection of their deep concern for the school and of their anxiety over finances.

On the other hand, Bushell was a sociable man and possessed a spirit for which school administration alone was not sufficient; and, although communication was easier than it had been, Michaelhouse was a somewhat lonely place for him, much as he enjoyed the rugged beauty of the country. One cannot help feeling, too, that he had made his major contribution to the school: that it was for someone else more familiar with the South African ethos to make the most of the opportunities he had done so much to create and to cope with the difficulties which some of his decisions were bound to lead to (a serious overweighting of the lower school, for instance).

At all events he left in December 1929 and was shortly afterwards appointed to be headmaster of Birkenhead, where he remained for sixteen years until he retired in 1946, a period in which the school developed from a rather small independent one, chiefly of day boys, to a well-established direct grant school. Twenty years later, in an expansive house set in a grandly wild garden, Bushell's active mind is still concerned about education and skips from the present to the past and back again, illustrating a point here and there by reference to one of the innumerable mementoes of half a century of schoolmastering, in which his Michaelhouse rectorship was but one of many responsibilities.

For Michaelhouse, however, his rectorship was crucial not only because of his own policies but because it almost exactly coincided with the last direct associations with the foundation of the school: in 1928 Bishop Baines retired; after six months as acting rector, Hannah resigned in 1930; and in 1931 F. S. Tatham ceased to be an active member of the Board of Governors.

In the period to 1930 there had been many men who devoted considerable energy to shaping the traditions of Michaelhouse through membership of the Board of Governors: J. Freeman and H. C. Shepstone, who, with F. S. Tatham, sat under Todd at the first recorded committee meeting and thus helped to establish the school as a permanent institution; Sir William Beaumont (a

judge) and Archdeacon Vyvyan, the first appointments to the Board (in 1903) from outside the original group of supporters and who remained members for twenty and nineteen years respectively; Sir George Leuchars, for a time a member of Botha's cabinet, who was a generous and vigorous governor from 1910 until his death in 1924; H. J. Butcher, a generous businessman, elected in 1913 and one of the most influential members of the Board by 1930; J. J. L. Sisson, the first Old Boy to be appointed (in 1923); Archdeacon Pennington who, as Vicar-General acted as chairman between the retirement of Bishop Baines and the installation of Bishop Fisher; and others, whose support was no less valuable for being unspectacular. But Bishop Baines, F. S. Tatham and E. M. Greene (until his withdrawal after 1909) were undoubtedly the central figures initially.

That Bishop Baines and F. S. Tatham, either individually or together, took the initiative in crucial decisions has already been indicated, most notably when the fate of the school was doubtful after the resignation of Hugh-Jones. Their personalities were complementary: the Bishop was diplomatic, friendly and discreet; Tatham was sometimes impulsive in his expression of opinions, but warm in his relations with colleagues and—albeit a judge—no great stickler for legal niceties. It is difficult to determine how far decisions of the Board reflected the ideas of these two men, but they were both assiduous in their attendance at meetings and both were bound to enjoy considerable influence by virtue of their long service to the school. In addition, the Bishop had the prestige of his episcopal office and the responsibilities of the chairmanship to add weight to his opinions; and a number of the members of the Board were relations or kinsmen of F. S. Tatham. But above all they both were deeply committed to the welfare of Michaelhouse and would almost have been justified in regarding it as in a sense theirs.

The personal interest of the governors was something to which the school was greatly indebted, but the very depth of this interest, coupled with the perpetual financial responsibilities, meant that there were sometimes difficulties of adjustment to make between the Rector and the Board. The responsibility to determine the size of the school was also clear, though a difference between them and the Rector on this was likely to be a source of tension. But the rectors clearly considered that what went on in the school and whether particular members of staff should be appointed or

retained should be left to their own final decision, though they no doubt valued the interest and advice of the Board as a whole or of individual governors.

With Bushell's rectorship, however, there were likely to be additional difficulties in accommodating the attitudes of the two 'authorities'. Michaelhouse had developed a distinctive spirit and had gained a recognisable prestige which the governors not unnaturally greatly valued, especially if they had been members long enough to have participated in the early vicissitudes of the school. Bushell, on the other hand, was determined to try and provide valuable characteristics which—in spite of its merits in other respects—he felt Michaelhouse lacked. To some of the governors, an innovation (like permission to bring bicycles to the school) or a difference of policy (on the rate of growth or the supervision of the sanatorium) could appear as a serious threat to the hard-won stability of the school, and the fact that some had substantial reasons for regarding the school as 'theirs' made Bushell's task especially difficult.

What, perhaps, was happening, was that Michaelhouse was making a second adjustment to being a 'public school': having become 'public' under a board of governors subject to a Trust Deed, the Board, especially at the end of the 'twenties and the beginning of the 'thirties, was becoming much less a group of men linked by individual ties to the school and much more a group whose links with the school were general rather than particularised; or, to put it another way, the school having already become an 'institution', the Board was in the process of becoming one. Bishop Baines (who resigned as a Trustee of the school only at the beginning of 1930, the responsibility in future being vested in the Bishop of Natal and his successors) and F. S. Tatham were the two men whose retirement from the Board most clearly reflected the change, but the process was, of course, a gradual one.

The resignation of Charles Walton Hannah from the staff at the age of 53, after six months as acting rector, had a different significance, for, although he had been associated with the school almost from the beginning, he had not been responsible for major policy decisions. To be precise about his significance in the school's history is extraordinarily difficult, partly because the myth of early Michaelhouse (the interpretation of its essential qualities) is largely his creation. This is not to say that he deliberately

distorted the history of Michaelhouse in his typescript reminiscences or in his conversations with boys and Old Boys; still less that he inflated his own share in the development of Michaelhouse (his typescript is notably modest). But he was proud of being one of Todd's early recruits and retained an idealism about Michaelhouse which Todd had inspired in him; and there was no interest which absorbed him so much as the welfare of Michaelhouse. When he spoke of Michaelhouse, therefore, he could not speak with detachment but only in terms of ideals which he felt the school had achieved or should achieve; and to create a myth in this way is to contribute substantially to the growth of an institution's roots.

Hannah achieved this in spite of the fact that his direct service to Michaelhouse as a master was intermittent. He had won a scholarship to Eton, but a breakdown in health prevented his spending more than a few days there and he obtained his degree at Oxford by keeping terms periodically, in the manner of Rhodes: his own education had therefore been somewhat unconventional for the late nineteenth century. He sought better health in the colonies, sheep-farming for a time in New Zealand before coming to Natal. Apparently because he was running short of money, the Bishop (Baynes) put him in touch with Todd and as a result he joined the staff of Michaelhouse in 1898 at the age of twenty-one. Although he returned to England several times on account of his health during Todd's rectorship, he remained a member of the staff until 1905, when he left, chiefly, it seems, because he felt unable to work under Hugh-Jones, and, after a period at Cedara Agricultural College, went farming himself. He returned again shortly before Brown's arrival and, though he does not seem to have been a permanent member of the staff until 1924, he served for at least part of most years, the largest gap being 1914-16. He seems to have taught the staple subjects: Latin to junior forms, Arithmetic and Literature; but on at least one occasion he lectured in philology to a post-matric class in the first World War.

He is remembered most, however, for his interest in cricket, for the influence he exerted on individual boys and for the hospitality which he offered to Old Boys in his retirement in Sussex, in a house which had belonged to his father, the Dean of Chichester. Though he did not always coach cricket, even when he was a member of the staff, and was not a distinguished practitioner of the art—apart from an effective but curious bowling action—

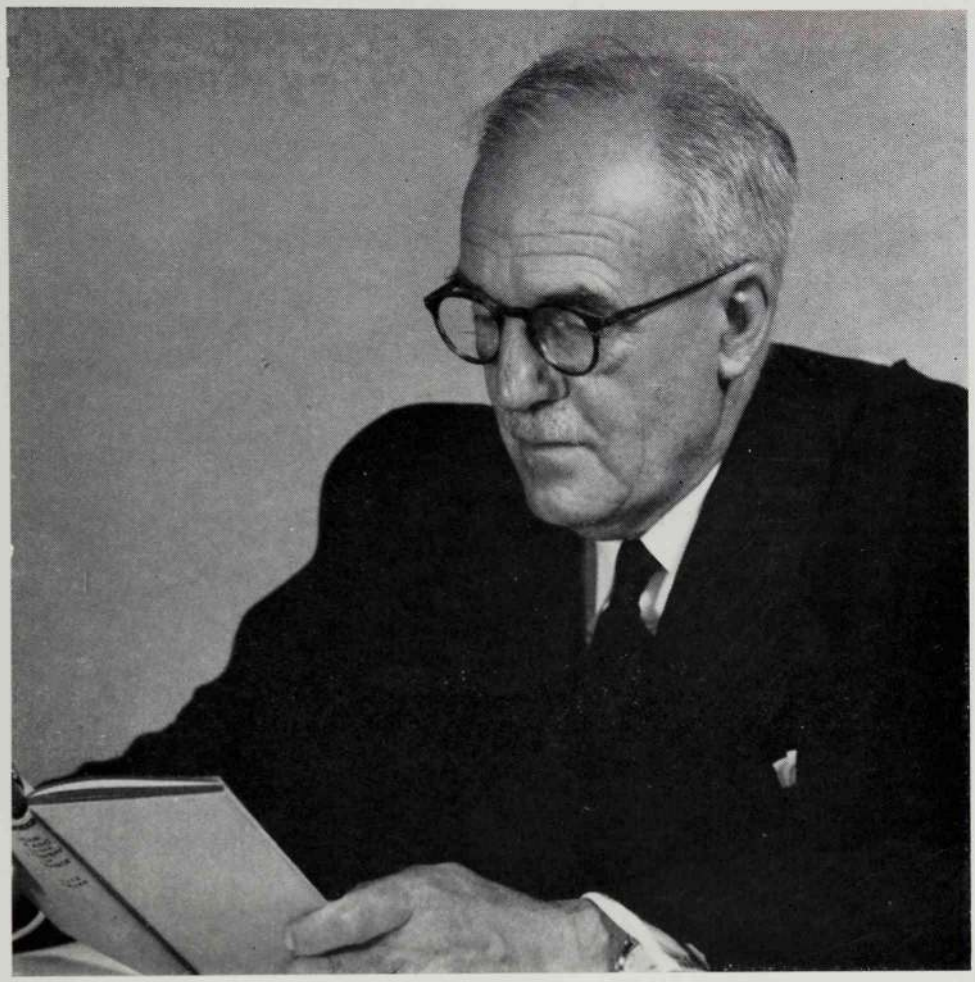
nevertheless he valued cricket highly for the quality of sportsmanship he believed it engendered, and he encouraged the boys to view it thus. Moreover it was he who usually organised the often elaborate tours of the first team; and the Oval was largely his creation. It had the first school turf wicket in the country and Hannah faced (unsuccessfully, alas!) the first balls pitched on it. The easy relationship he was able to establish with cricketers extended beyond Michaelhouse boys and at least sometimes extended to boys who were not distinguished for their sporting ability: and he certainly did not regard sporting success as the main criterion for a school or an individual. Nor was he, in spite of his long association with the school, a rigid conservative; Bushell, indeed, found him the easiest and most co-operative of his colleagues in the changes he introduced, whether it was to allow fires in the classrooms (a suggestion, incidentally, which Pascoe supported, but which some of Bushell's colleagues regarded as an erosion of the tough spirit in the school) or the establishment of the house system. On the other hand, even those who admired him most found his incessant talking a trying background in the commonroom, however much they valued the qualities epitomised in the phrase (significant because it comes from an Afrikaner colleague): ' a grand English gentleman.'

When Bushell's resignation was accepted, Hannah was asked if he would accept appointment as Acting Rector, pending the appointment of Bushell's successor. He was, not unexpectedly, one of the applicants for the permanent appointment, but, out of a field of thirteen (the largest number the Governors had had to choose from), R. F. Currey was chosen 'without dissent.' Since Currey was not able to take up the rectorship until July 1930, Hannah continued to act for six months, making some important appointments but otherwise not, of course, in a position to initiate policy. However, he introduced the helpful initiation practice of having each new boy attached to a 'mentor'—a second year boy responsible for showing him the ropes and taking responsibility for him.

But in the meantime, he tendered his resignation from the staff, and no doubt it was a wise though sad decision for him to make. His own explanation was that 'I was firmly convinced that it was to the interest of the school that I should do so, in order that the new Rector should have a fair field to work in, unhampered by one, who had perhaps already been too long connected with

the school.' The Governors passed a lengthy resolution in appreciation of his services and directed that a copy should be 'engrossed and sent to Mr Hannah.' That his interest in the school was real and continued was exemplified in the moving terms in which he preached the sermon at the jubilee celebrations of Michaelhouse sixteen years later and by the fact that Currey took the trouble to introduce Snell to him when the latter was appointed Rector. It is very doubtful, however, whether he could have disengaged himself sufficiently from his very personal identification with Michaelhouse to make the most of the opportunities which Bushell's brief rectorship helped to create.

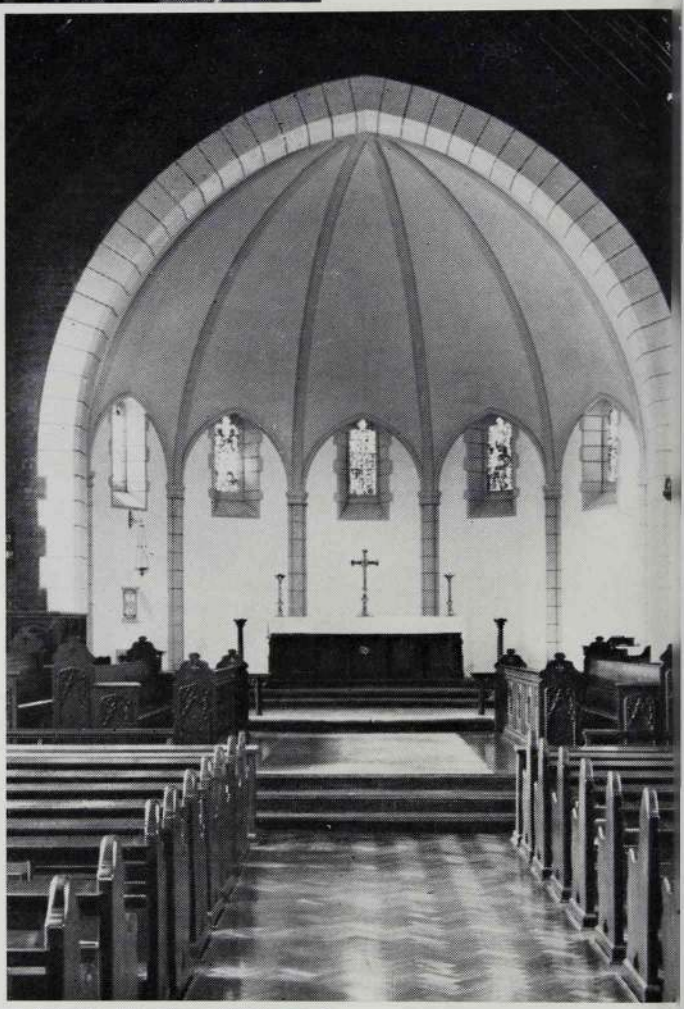
In 1932 a new honour was instituted at Michaelhouse—Bushell had already initiated the ceremony of 'Ad Portas', adapting a Winchester custom. The Governors now resolved that they 'may from time to time elect as Associate Fellows of Michaelhouse men who in the past have rendered special and distinguished service and have severed their active connection with the school'. Bishop Frederick Samuel Baines, the Hon. Frederic Spence Tatham and Charles Walton Hannah were at the same meeting elected the first three Associate Fellows. The resolutions formally marked the end of an era.



RONALD FAIRBRIDGE CURREY
Rector, 1930-1938

Above the Screens

The Chapel



War Memorial Chapel:
begun under Currey,
dedicated under Snell

Herbert Baker's Chapel:
Built under Hugh Jones,
extended under Pascoe;
the Sanctuary was later
plastered

CHAPTER EIGHT

Currey: Planned Development 1930-1938

IN the world outside Michaelhouse, the nineteen thirties witnessed a shaking of the foundations of civilization's comfortable security. Economic depression flustered the self-assurance of the well to do and degraded the poor, so that many demanded a more active participation by the state in the lives of its citizens—either to protect them against arbitrary inequalities and the devastating helplessness of enforced unemployment or to protect the traditional stratification of society. The League of Nations became steadily less capable of shoring up the international framework erected by the Peace of Versailles: Japan and Manchuria; Italy and Abyssinia; Germany and the Sudetenland—all these aroused passions and resentment and, eventually, a growing and general disillusionment.

Meanwhile the agony of Spain's Civil War and the mounting ambition and crude racialism of Hitler threw fundamental moral issues into relief. Among writers, the poets especially—like Auden and Lewis—seemed to reflect most sensitively the involvement of all in the shaking of one wing of society's superstructure.

Against this background, the history of Michaelhouse is, astonishingly, one of almost straightforward development. A glance at the increase in numbers, at the development of buildings, at the unruffled minutes of the Board of Governors or at the growing diversification of activities reflected in the *Chronicle*, would suggest that Michaelhouse was untouched by all these great changes. But it would be only a superficial glance which would suggest this: it is part of the truth, for Michaelhouse did, indeed, go from strength to strength during the period; but it is only a part, for Michaelhouse was aware of the world beyond Balgowan. And for both parts of the truth a great deal of the

credit must inevitably go to the Rector, who not only made full use of the expansive atmosphere made possible by his predecessor but substantially added to the academic foundations and material superstructure of Michaelhouse.

Some other South African schools, by contrast, felt the cold economic winds keenly: Hilton felt constrained to reduce fees in 1933; at St Andrew's, hit particularly by the drop in the price of wool, numbers dropped seriously and, in spite of a temporary recovery, were almost exactly the same (at 256) in 1939 as they had been immediately after the first World War; and at government and government aided schools, although there was a 44% increase in the number of boys enrolled in post-primary classes over the period 1930-1938, there was throughout the period a number of vacancies in the Boarding Establishments, which called for special comment in 1930 and 1932; and though numbers at Durban High School and College rose temporarily in 1932, they were almost the same in 1938 as they had been in 1930.

The appointment of Ronald Fairbridge Currey was a notable departure from Michaelhouse tradition, for he was a South African, steeped in the Cape tradition: one who brought to Michaelhouse experience which made a critical appraisal of South Africa's educational needs the more valuable and traditions which could enrich those of a school essentially Natalian in spirit. Through both sides of his family he was linked with the political development of the Cape and the pioneering development of Southern Africa, his father being Private Secretary to Rhodes for many years and his mother's family (Fairbridge) being noted pioneers in Rhodesia. He was educated at St Andrew's (where he matriculated in 1910, coming second in South Africa to Sir Basil Schonland, Director of Harwell) and at Rhodes University College. Thence he went to Oxford on a Rhodes Scholarship, though his course was interrupted by service in the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and in the Black Watch, in whose company he won the Military Cross and a Bar to the Military Cross. His Oxford period was remarkable not only because he was awarded his degree (in 'Greats') 'with distinction', but because it overlapped with the career of J. H. Hofmeyr. Thereafter he taught for a time at Rugby, then for five years at St Andrew's before starting, with G. Nicolson, the Ridge Preparatory School in Johannesburg.

He had hardly started on the venture when the governors

sent Hannah to ask him to be acting rector during the period between Pascoe's retirement and Bushell's arrival in 1927, an invitation which he had to decline. By the time Bushell resigned, however, 'The Ridge' was firmly established and his partner was about to marry, so that Currey was able to respond to an 'unofficial feeler', as a result of which he was selected as Rector. A short visit in December convinced him that the school's foundations were sound and in July 1930, he took up office with time to get his bearings during the school holidays.

It was still a small school of 202 boys, housed for the most part compactly in a single quad, but with a miscellany of wood-and-iron scattered round about serving various purposes from music rooms to single quarters for staff. At the western edge of the school property, the Oval had just been grassed, but the other fields were either levelled red earth (for cricket) or plain sloping veld (for rugby); and, apart from a few deodars and the poplars and the struggling Warriors' Avenue, such trees as there were were gums or wattles. The quarters for Indians and for Africans were the subject of severe criticism in Hannah's last report—the latter, indeed, were the hovels used by the builders thirty years earlier. And the few houses for married men were, with the exception of K. M. Pennington's, dispersed about the eastern half of the property, one of them (Byrne's) encroaching on Jaffray's land at the back of the school—as it was discovered when a contour plan was drawn early in 1931.

Especially in a time of expansion, the satisfaction of urgent needs and the improvement of existing facilities would require careful planning if the site was to become a place of beauty. The future graciousness of the grounds and the intimacy of the central core of buildings was made possible largely by the happy co-operation of the governors, the Rector and the school's architect, Fleming, during the thirties.

For the first few years it was impossible to contemplate heavy expenditure which would involve additions to the school's debt, but a great deal was nevertheless achieved under the supervision of Aitken, the assiduous estate manager, and Byrne, the woodwork instructor and ever-obliging clerk of works; and though much was paid for out of school or tuck shop profits, the major items were made possible by timely donations.

Very soon after his arrival, Currey approached the Bailey Education Trust for assistance in levelling and grassing the main

rugby fields and, with one of the governors (Hunt Holley) as adviser and the novel spectacle of a tractor doing the donkey-work, Bailey's and Aitken's became fine fields—but not before the drought of 1931 had forced the school to use some fields across the railway line while the grass struggled to grow. Another rugby field (Tarpey's) was later levelled and grassed and meanwhile the hockey fields on Meadows were being improved and a 440 yds track was laid out round them. (E. Hudson Bennett distinguished himself at the opening of the latter in 1937 by winning five events, coming second in another and third in yet another.) With the levelling and grassing of the old 'colts' ground, appropriately renamed Hannah's, cricketers now had four turf wickets and all the playing fields had been transformed. Facilities for squash and tennis were also improved: two more squash courts were built through donations from Old Boys in 1930 and 1934 and roofing the courts began in 1937; and two more tennis courts were added at about the same time.

These were all improvements rather than innovations, but there were two important additions to the sporting facilities. The first was the erection, by Byrne, of a wood-and-iron gymnasium for £220, for Currey introduced Physical Training as part of the curriculum in 1932, which, according to the *Chronicle*, 'struck one forcibly as an innovation' but was soon accepted as a valuable element in the school's life. At almost the same time, a swimming bath was built, thanks largely to generous donations of £500 each from Hugh Brown (a governor and Old Boy) and the Bailey Education Trust but, although this was an almost essential addition, it seriously taxed the school's water supply and precipitated a successful application to the Water Court for additional water rights on a neighbouring farm.

Meanwhile the graciousness of the approach to the school was being ensured by a systematic execution of Fleming's landscape plan, and through the enthusiasm of Mrs Currey and the profits of the tuck shop the terraces in front of the school soon became a source of pride. The enjoyment of them was at first restricted to seniors as part of a school boy tradition, but they were opened to the whole school before Currey's departure. Elsewhere a variety of trees was planted: an avenue between the school and the oval, for instance; a group of flowering cherries, which became a spectacular show-piece, in the open court created by the addition of a new West/Farfield wing to the main building; and a copse

of oaks between the present Rector's Lodge and the swimming bath, sprung from acorns planted in 1931. By 1935, when the 'new' national road past the school was opened, the school looked more invitingly settled and less dauntingly Spartan than perhaps even Todd could have imagined possible, and in the following year the present drive became the main approach to the school, replacing the tortuous link with the Curry's Post road which had run through the station yard, past the 'Arab' store (as it was called) and over the stream by what was formally named Farfield Bridge.

For the first few years, the school buildings remained substantially the same, though a number of improvements indicated that a modicum of comfort was not regarded as incompatible with good learning. It comes as something of a shock to read that hot water (at the cost of £10) was not installed in the Rector's lodge until 1930—Bushell and his predecessors had had to be content with buckets being carried across the quad from the kitchen; and the boys in Foundation North had this luxury added the following year. The dignity of the hall was enhanced by a donation of two sets of teak tables and benches from H. J. Butcher and by the completion of the teak panelling in 1935, the money for this coming from tuck shop profits. (Another consequence of the boys' healthy appetites and the tuck shop's sound business practices was the improvement of Todd's fountain with the statue of a Boy with a Fish, executed by the Bromsgrove Guild.)

A more striking improvement to the appearance of the school was the alteration to the facade, carried out in two stages but planned to be aesthetically complementary. The addition of a room to the Rector's lodge next to the tower gave a uniform line to the eastern facade; and the nearly blind wall of the chemistry laboratory on the west was enlivened by the addition of an oriel window (it had had slits of windows high up suitable for the gymnasium the room was originally intended to be but which defied attempts at cleaning and obstructed ventilation and light). The oriel window was no doubt unusual for a laboratory, but it was already planned to turn the laboratory into a library, a change which was effected in 1936 and proved the value of having an inviting place for boys to browse.

A spacious library was made possible by the creation of a new chemistry laboratory and lecture theatre which lacked adornments but were essentially practical and replaced temporary

dormitories behind the main school, where there was already a geography room, built two years earlier and a miscellany of other buildings. These 'hindquarters' have been swept away in recent years, but they were an integral part of the process of consolidation and were provided at minimum cost: indeed, none of the improvements mentioned thus far involved the school in additional debts.

But even with these improvements, the school could not accommodate comfortably many more than 200 boys; and in 1933—while the depression was still serious—Currey took the wise step of presenting a memorandum on 'General Development', in which he urged a careful determination of policy in respect of the size of the school. Such confidence had he inspired in the Board that they accepted the principle of expansion and at the following meeting of the Board they considered the architect's report on preparing for a school of 350—at the time there were under 230 in the school.

It would have been possible at this stage to plan an entirely separate building, using space lavishly in a not uncommon South African tradition; but in fact the plans seriously discussed assumed an integrated complex of buildings and this principle—which provides the material framework for an integrated but not inflexible society—has been retained in subsequent additions. Fleming initially suggested a westward extension for two houses, preferring to leave the south side for future laboratories; and there was a tentative suggestion for a new hall to form the northern side of the new quad. At the same time, he indicated that, although it would be difficult, the only possible extension of the chapel was eastwards, and he suggested that the Rector's house should be built in front of the old rifle range (i.e. on the western side of the school). Three years later, Fleming modified his suggestions, preferring to leave the north side of the new quad open and suggesting the addition of another house extending from the south-east corner of the old quad; but the first plan was in fact the blue print for future development, except for the siting of the Rector's house.

The year after the decision in principle to expand, the governors agreed to build a west wing, and a tender for £7,355 was accepted. The wing was completed by Easter 1935, but for the first part of the year there had to be a hasty juggling of accommodation to house the 275 boys, classrooms being used as dormitories,

a prefect's room as a classroom and the Rector's lodge and the ladies' wing (then near the kitchen) squeezing in some of the staff. For the first time there was proper provision for a house prefects' room and a house common room; and K. M. Pennington's House, West, moved into the new block, leaving their seven-year-old home for the newly created Tatham House. Farfield were still accommodated in scattered quarters, but even before the completion of West, the third side of the new quad was rising and in 1936 the complex was complete and both Farfield and physics were adequately housed—the latter having been cooped in the cellar under the Memorial Hall until then. By 1938, the school was able to accommodate in five houses all but three of the 332 boys (the three exceptions being literally farmed out to Anandale): 120 more than there had been in 1930 and just over twice the 1928 number.

A building programme was made desirable, of course, because of the continued and increasing demand for places. Although the Rector warned the Board in 1931 and 1932 to be on guard against a drop in numbers, there was a steady increase each year, thanks particularly to the Transvaal connection already established before Currey's time and now considerably strengthened—the Rand was more resilient than most areas during the depression. The Rector had, indeed, to refuse 27 applications in 1934, and three years later Currey instituted an entrance examination for the 1938 recruits. But only finance could ensure that desire did not far outrun performance.

In 1928 Bushell had had to report to the Board that there was a large number of unpaid bills because there was no cash in the bank and the following year the Governors decided to raise the fees by £10 to £120 a year, with effect from 1930. Thanks partly to this and the effect of the depression on prices, but also to careful deployment and supervision of resources by the Rector with the minimum of administrative assistance, the school's finances were transformed—as late as 1937 he had only a secretary (Miss Runciman), a bookkeeper (Miss Dales), a part-time typist and the Estate Manager (John Aitken) to assist him. Not only were many of the improvements already mentioned paid for out of the current account but the school was at last able to provide more accommodation for married staff and—not before time—to erect better quarters for the Indian and African staff; and the school was still able to show a comfortable profit which enabled the Board to

launch the major building programme with the minimum of discussion and taking the tide at the flood. How different from the long delays and justifiable nervousness attendant on the building of the Memorial Hall.

But even the school profits—about £4,000 at their peak in 1934—would not have been sufficient to sustain an ambitious programme without generous assistance from outside. There were notable individual contributions—the long-standing debt to H. J. Butcher was remitted at the time of Currey's arrival, Hugh Brown contributed generously to the swimming bath and bequeathed a further sum to the school, C. James helped to make the building of Farfield possible, and the Tatham family created a Bursary Trust of £1,000 after the death of F. S. Tatham. The contributions of the Bailey Education Trust to the grounds and buildings have already been mentioned; and the Rhodes Trustees also contributed £1,000 to the building scheme in 1936. What was new, however, was a group of donations from mining and finance companies, which were individually not large but which were significant as an indication of the practical interest which financiers and industrialists were taking in education, particularly that provided by independent schools. It is, moreover, from this period that the interest of the Chamber of Mines in post-matriculation work dates. In his history of St Andrew's, Currey gives to the Rev. C. B. Armstrong (then headmaster of St Andrew's) the credit of enlisting the support of this powerful organisation; at all events, five schools, including Michaelhouse, benefited from an annual subsidy for sixth form science work and three mining scholarships were established. Meanwhile, the school's responsibility for interest on bonds was eased by one of its oldest supporters: the Anglican Church Trust Board took over a substantial proportion of the bonds at a reduced rate of interest.

The number of buildings, the number of boys, the number of pounds in the bank, the number (and range) of donors tempt one to quote Sir Henry Wotton:

> You meaner beauties of the night
> That poorly satisfy our eyes,
> More by your number, than your light . . . .

But these numbers were in fact both the generators and the reflectors of the stronger light that Michaelhouse was shedding.

A characteristic of Michaelhouse which distinguished it from the other Natal schools was the presence of a Sixth Form doing

post-matriculation work. Its organisation presents especial difficulties in South Africa, where it is not a part of the normal educational pattern and there have always been those who assert that its chief function is to provide an extra year for leaders in sport. Bushell had entered several sixth-formers for first year university examinations and the practice continued for a time under Currey, but it was not an entirely satisfactory arrangement and the last to enter for university examinations before the war was N. N. Franklin, who passed five B.A. subjects in 1932. Boys were instead entered for other public examinations—The Taalbond or one of the English universities' examinations, but it remained a flexible arrangement and not all were provided with a specific goal.

What was perhaps more important was that, from its firm establishment under Bushell, the Sixth Form developed into a permanent institution, not large in its membership (there were usually about a dozen) but distinctive in the opportunities it offered, especially for encouraging a critical awareness of South African and world issues, and with its members beginning to enjoy a differentiated status, whether they were prefects or not.

Currey himself was convinced of its value, and the fact that all the Old Boys who were awarded Rhodes or Elsie Ballot Scholarships from 1931 to 1940 had been members of the sixth form was at least supporting though not conclusive evidence in its favour. There was, indeed, an impressive list of scholarship awards to old boys: Rhodes Scholarships were awarded to H. S. Fisher (who had matriculated in 1929), B. J. J. Stubbings, E. E. W. M. Hindson, H. F. Lydall, L. M. Thompson and D. Henwood; Elsie Ballot Scholarships were awarded to N. N. Franklin and E. E. M. Burchell; and three of these awards came in one year (1934/5)—those to Stubbings, Hindson and Franklin—and coincided with another notable award—the Captain Scott Memorial Medal for the best student of geology in the University of South Africa—B. Hindson.

For the bulk of the school, Currey made a determined effort to improve the general standard of scholarship and at the same time to provide for those boys for whom the terms 'academic', 'non-practical' and 'useless' are almost synonymous. That the classroom took precedence over the playing fields, at least in the eyes of authority, was made clear by the decision in 1935 to abandon all 3rd, 4th and 'Hare' inter-school matches because the fixture

list had become so heavy as to interfere with school work. (Before the school acquired its own transport, teams had to travel by train and this involved missing classes on Saturday.) Moreover, in 1936 parents were told that a 'superannuation' policy was to operate in future; if boys were too old for their form and were considered unsuitable for promotion, they would be asked to leave.

It was not, however, a ruthless policy to enforce standards determined by the somewhat rigid Junior Certificate and Matriculation requirements, for Currey had already introduced a 'Modern Form' with a specially planned curriculum which included, for instance, agricultural chemistry and biology within a special science course. This was more than ten years before the English education system seriously attempted to provide for differentiated but genuinely secondary education for adolescents, and nearly thirty years before Natal provincial schools attempted to do so.

The examination results suggest that the general level of achievement in the school was improving. With relatively small numbers entered for the matriculation examination in the 'twenties, it was natural that standards should have varied considerably from year to year, but a first class pass was a great distinction and there was generally a preponderance of third class passes. In Natal as a whole the proportion of matriculation candidates who passed was about two-thirds between 1930 and 1938, with the exception of 1931 and 1932 when the proportion of successes dropped to 56.4% and 60.7% respectively. At Michaelhouse, on the other hand, the proportion who passed in 1930 and 1931 was just over a half and even allowing for the fact that Michaelhouse probably promoted boys more readily through the forms than many other schools and may have had a different policy in respect of entering all boys who were in the matriculation class, the failure rate was, as Currey observed in a report to the Governors, 'disturbing'.

A few years later, the picture was very much healthier, with about two-thirds of the entrants matriculating except in 1936; and in 1938 90% of a group of 60 entrants were successful. What was even more noteworthy was the much higher proportion of first and second class passes: even in 1931 there were 9 firsts, including four boys who were under sixteen (Adnams, Lydall, Robinson and Thompson), and this was more than there had been in the whole period between the end of the war and 1929. From that year onwards, the number of firsts and seconds comfortably

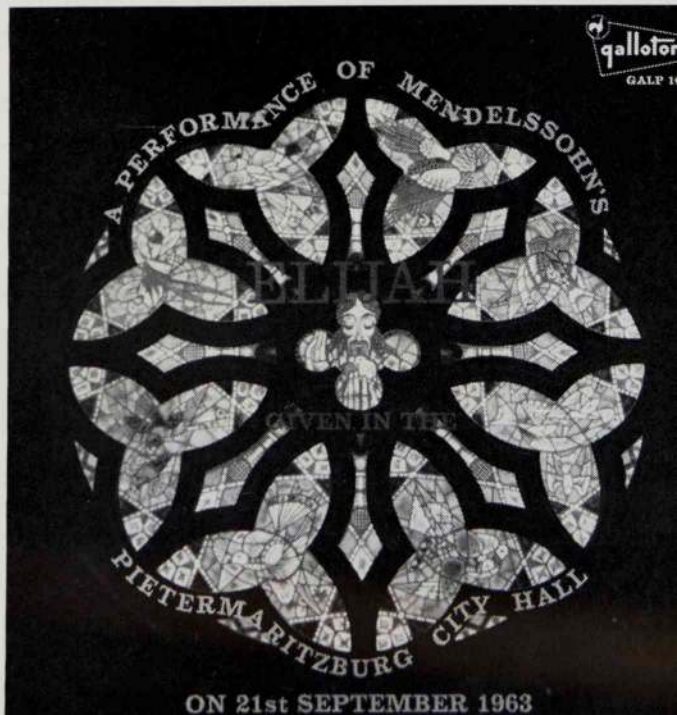
Leisure

Top: The Library: transformed from laboratory by Currey

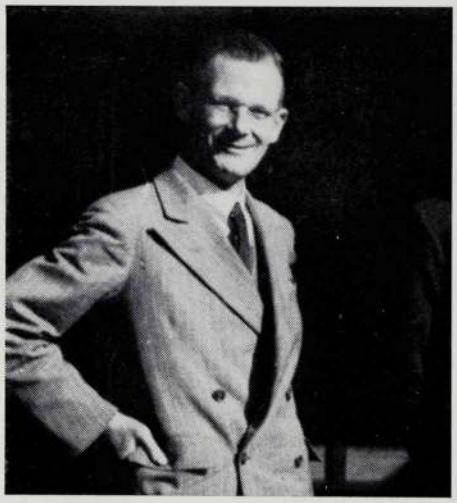
Centre: The Brass Band: a fifties' fanfare

Bottom left: The Orchestra 1929; encouraged by Miss Bushell

Bottom right: The Elijah: St. Anne's and Michaelhouse combined under Barry Smith



Staff from the Twenties



Top left: J. C. Byrne, 1921-1928

Centre left: T. A. Strickland, B.A.(T.C.D.), 1923-1947

Bottom left: D. de C. Pennington, B.A. (S.A.), 1930-1949

Top right: K. M. Pennington, M.A., B.C.L.(OXON), A.F.C., 1922, 1925-1958

Centre right: P. D. Barnard, B.A.(STELL.) 1927-1951

Bottom right: A. P. Woods, B.SC.(S.A.), 1930-1950

exceeded the number of third class passes and both in 1937 and 1938 there were 19 first class and 14 second class passes.

In the Junior Certificate examinations there was a dramatic statistical improvement: whereas 30% was the failure rate for Natal as a whole in 1930, Michaelhouse had a failure rate of 49%—attributed to the large entry in 1928 and a number of staff changes; two years later, when Natal's results were exceptionally poor with a 38% failure, Michaelhouse had only 24% failing.

This chronicle of statistical success may suggest that after having a strenuous opponent of the South African examination system, the school's policy was now directed by one for whom the system was a satisfactory guide. That Currey accepted the public examinations as a measure of the school's achievement, there is no reason to doubt; but he spoke forcefully against the 'tyranny' of the matriculation examination and its 'dolorous effects.' Indeed, in at least one important sphere, he relaxed the 'tyranny' of the system: he was one of the first in the country to abandon the Junior Certificate examination, which was a sort of military policeman for the Matriculation examination, ensuring that, from recruits upwards, secondary pupils should attend to the manoeuvres necessary to capture a certificate. Currey made the suggestion to abandon the Junior Certificate at the beginning of 1935, but there was opposition on the Board and it was only after a 'full discussion' at the end of the year that the Board agreed to the change. It was now possible for Michaelhouse to offer a curriculum which was not confined to six 'examination subjects' from beginning to end and to be freer than many schools from the excessive pressure of examinations.

There were four other significant though less dramatic modifications in the school curriculum. One has already been referred to—the introduction of Physical Training under Sgt Bultitude, formerly of the Norfolk Regiment. It is a curious comment on the fluctuation of ideas that although at the turn of the century it was planned to give P.T. the most prominent room in the building (the present library) and not long afterwards Maritzburg College had an elaborate and substantial gymnasium built, the activity lost its prestige and it was widely assumed that sport was an adequate substitute, so that its re-introduction was regarded as a curiosity. By contrast, the other modifications hardly aroused comment: bookkeeping no longer formed a part of the ordinary

curriculum; from 1936 Zulu became part of the regular classes, taught to Matric by a Zulu; and biology was gradually introduced, though not yet as a full subject.

It would not have been possible to strengthen the academic work of the school—and particularly to abandon the Junior Certificate—if the Rector had not felt secure in his staff. For the first time in the history of the school, staffing was not a major problem for the Rector: whereas his predecessors had had to rely on personal influence or chance to find men willing to fill vacancies or to stay long, Currey had the great advantage of being able to select from a number of good applicants to fill posts. This was partly because the school, standing on the shoulders of the past, was better known both inside South Africa and in England. But it was also a consequence of the depression that teaching was an attractive profession: indeed, the Superintendent of Education in Natal seemed to be somewhat embarrassed by the growing proportion of graduates in Natal schools, because he felt that the secondary schools could not accommodate them all.

By 1930 there had been about a dozen men on the academic staff who had seen a generation or more of boys go through the school: Tryon, Dobrée and Hannah among Todd's appointments; Adair, Lawrence, Pascoe and Ferrar from Hugh-Jones's time; Bishop from Brown's time (to whom Briggs may be added, if his part-time chaplaincy is included); Crawford, Strangman, K. M. Pennington and Strickland from Pascoe's time; and Barnard, who arrived when Adair was acting Rector. But now, partly because the staff was larger, the number of men who remained long enough to influence the school, and not just the individuals on whom they happened to make an impression, makes the task of distinguishing individual masters' contributions almost impossible. A sign of the stability of the staff was the Rector's unprecedented announcement at the end of 1932 that there had been no staff changes in the previous twelve months, but throughout the period nearly all the changes were additions to the staff or temporary leave replacements.

The foundations of this stability were already laid when Currey took over, for there were now on the staff, besides the three 'old hands' (K. M. Pennington, Strickland and Barnard) who were already housemasters, four (C. M. Melville, A. P. Woods, J. Pridmore and D. Pennington) who were to serve at least until the end of the war; and there were two others who were to serve until

1935 (P. Theron and L. O. Osler), and one (Cazalet) who was chaplain from 1930 to 1937. Add to these the first three permanent appointments by Currey himself—F. van Heijst, J. C. Traill and N. G. Lyon—and there was the core of the Michaelhouse staff for the next fifteen years or more.

There were now four Old Boys on the staff (the two Penningtons, Melville and Woods); and of those who were to remain on the staff until after the war, three in addition to the Old Boys were South Africans (van Heijst, Traill and Barnard). Michaelhouse, while continuing to draw on the products of United Kingdom universities, was no longer so reliant on expatriates and could hold good men once they had been attracted to the school.

In many fields there was a reduction in salaries during the depression, but at Michaelhouse the Governors decided to maintain existing salaries, though the initial salary for newcomers was dropped from £300 to £250, which rose to a maximum (excluding allowances for housemasters, married men and quarters) of £450. At about the same time, the desultory discussions about a pension or provident scheme were brought to finality and a provident fund scheme was approved, with effect from 1933.

There nevertheless remained an awkward obstacle to retaining staff: matrimony might force the men to look elsewhere. Each romance brought a crisis, for the Governors were cautious about additional capital expenditure and commitment to the £100 marriage allowance. Currey was nevertheless able to juggle with the buildings available and so retain valuable men and welcome their wives, until at last in 1938 authority was given for three more houses to be built—the first on what has come to be called the Berea. Meanwhile it was laid down that no assistant master was to marry without the Rector's permission (to be confirmed by the Board) and that permission would not be granted unless the man had spent at least seven years at Michaelhouse, if he were to be entitled to a house and the marriage allowance—but that was before the war altered the average age for marriage, as it altered much else.

The strength and stability of the staff and the increase in the number of boys contributed substantially to what the editor of the *Chronicle* described in 1933 as 'a changing tendency . . . namely, in the development of the less official activities of the school.'

In one of these activities at least, there is a reflection of the

events which stirred passions at the time. The Debating Society, which had an enthusiastic guide in Osler, flourished with between forty and sixty members. Natal's politics of the early thirties are reflected in a debate on secession in 1932 and another on devolution the following year (when a future politician, L'Estrange, is reported to have delivered a 'brilliant speech'). It discussed the colour problem and socialism. The house sympathised with Abyssinia in her struggle with Italy in 1935 and twice opposed Hitler and dictatorships (the first occasion, in 1934, was in the first debate conducted against a Hilton team, Michaelhouse being on the side of the angels). The Society twice debated the Oxford Union motion—This House will not fight for King and Country—and defeated it; but in 1936, they were sadly optimistic and overwhelmingly defeated a motion that war was inevitable within five years.

The Natural History Society, on the other hand, literally dug into the past: a Smithfield industry was discovered on a neighbouring farm in 1935, which generated considerable excitement and led to a visit by Dr van Riet Lowe and the donation of some 200 artefacts of pre-historic man to the national collection. Interest in the Society fluctuated, but the erection of a new museum in 1933 and the arrival of R. C. Wood ('Archer') the following year acted as a timely stimulant and, with the continued help of K. M. Pennington, there were opportunities for enthusiasts to pursue small mammals or to make a record of local birds (egg collecting was prohibited by a vote of a general meeting); and two boys—Fehrsen and Currie—set to work on a scheme to house local insects.

Both these societies had had a long, though somewhat uncertain history. There had also been a photographic club in the early Balgowan days, which was revived in 1928; and, stimulated by Cazalet and, later, by the completion of a new dark room and the interest of A. R. Chapman, it became a permanent institution in the school, C. Barry being a notable participant in the years immediately before the war. Cazalet was also responsible for starting a more select group, the Literary Society, generally restricted to fifteen members, who met weekly or fortnightly to read chiefly Barrie or Galsworthy, to hear papers read by members or to encourage original writing—a Literary Supplement to the *Chronicle* appeared on occasion and in 1936 the group planned a scenario for a film. The same year, a Stamp Club was started and

was strong enough to mount an exhibition on speech day in 1937, though it was not a highly institutionalised activity. The conversion of the old laboratory into a comfortable library encouraged an interest in chess, though it remained unorganised for the time being.

The activity which gave the clearest evidence of official encouragement was music. With some misgivings, Currey introduced in 1931 an inter-house music competition, for which Mrs Currey presented a trophy. There were choral and individual sections in the competition, and the boys were helped by wives of members of staff (especially Mrs Currey, Mrs Barnard and Mrs van Heijst) as well as masters. That the standard fluctuated wildly from year to year and from house to house mattered less than that some were introduced to choral singing who would not otherwise have discovered the pleasure apart from hymn singing. (There was, of course, a chapel choir, and in 1931 a weekly congregational practice was introduced). The establishment of music as part of the curriculum, with a resident Director of Music, was a further aid to enthusiasts and, shortly after R. H. S. South's arrival, a Gramophone Society, with a growing library of records, was formed and, a little later, a Choral Society. It would be idle to pretend that serious music enjoyed widespread popularity or prestige in the school, but when the risk was taken of making attendance at chamber concerts voluntary, the response was 'gratifying', and there was some justification for the comment by the Director of Music for the Natal Education Department (C. Wright) that Michaelhouse was leading the way in musical education.

Meanwhile the dramatic tradition of the school was greatly strengthened. Various members of staff—and Mrs van Heijst—produced plays at different times, of which two are particularly noteworthy. In 1934 *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was produced by Cazalet, with a future Dean (Cross) and Bishop (Burnett) of Bloemfontein playing respectively Bottom and Flue—it was a shortened version, like the only previous production which had presented more than extracts from Shakespeare. Two years later the first Afrikaans play—a one-act—was produced by Barnard. The chief director of the school's dramatic activities was, however, D. Pennington, who was convinced that boys were bound to mangle Shakespeare but who devoted hours of labour and sardonic humour to building up the stage equipment—including a pro-

scenium arch for the dais—and to producing numerous one-act, three-act, boys and staff plays.

Among physical activities there was the first appearance of a Gym Club in 1936 and a brief appearance of fencing, but the most interesting development was the growth in the popularity of the 'minor' sports. A census taken in 1935 showed that most boys enjoyed playing rugby and a comfortable majority enjoyed playing cricket; but, in answer to the question, 'Which would you choose to play if you were given a free choice?' tennis had the edge on cricket as a summer sport, and, although rugby was easily the favourite for winter, over a third of the boys would have chosen hockey, squash or tennis. No other Natal boys' school had organised hockey, so that such matches as were played (and they became more frequent) were against club or university teams, and it is therefore not surprising that the 1938 team, captained by a future Springbok (P. A. Dobson), lost all but one of its six matches. Apart from a tennis match against St Anne's and the inauguration of annual athletic contests against Hilton, inter-school rivalry continued to be confined to rugby and cricket.

In cricket, the 1930-31 season was described as a 'slump' after the departure of Parry, A. Melville and Harvey, but the team nevertheless managed to defeat Hilton twice, and there was already in the team a future Springbok, L. W. Payn. Two years later he took 100 wickets in the season, repeating the achievement of C. Forder, M. Forder and A. Melville. The fortunes of the first team fluctuated from year to year, with a peak from 1932 to 1934, but with coaxing, cajoling and coaching from A. P. Woods and an increasing confidence on turf wickets, even in a poor year like 1935-36 there were seldom severe defeats. An exception was in 1937 when the Hilton bowler, Ellis, took six wickets for seventeen runs in seven overs. Later that year the team (which included the future Springbok 'Tufty' Mann) distinguished itself by getting St Andrew's out for 24 on Kingsmead. Meanwhile, the cricket tours continued regularly each year—or nearly regularly: in the same season as the disastrous Hilton match, a mistake in the estimated time of arrival at Kroonstad led to some discomfiture until Dr Donges (who subsequently made 4 runs and took 3 wickets) rescued them; and at the tail end of the tour, a storm flooded a spruit and caused the team to miss the train at Bergville, so that they had to sleep on the benches.

At the beginning of the thirties, the rugby team was conspicuous by its lack of success, though in 1932 Michaelhouse gained their first and somewhat lucky win over Hilton since 1925 and repeated the success the following year. In 1934, however, there was a spectacular climb to fortune, when the team won all its school matches and gained seven places in the Natal Schools team. Two years later the record was almost equalled—the team drew one school match—but the season was distinguished particularly for two thrilling wins over a strong Maritzburg College team (15-14 and 16-11). The period before the war is sometimes thought of as one of unrivalled glory in Michaelhouse rugby and these two years' successes no doubt contributed to the impression, but they were quite outstanding years.

Organised sport generally involved boys on three afternoons a week (one of them being hockey, which was not, however, a regular demand); and Friday afternoon continued to be devoted to the cadet detachment (which became affiliated to the D.L.I. in 1934). Nevertheless, with a reversion in 1930 to the practice of having no afternoon school, organised games and cadets were over by four o'clock and the rest of the afternoon was the boys' own. Moreover, Currey granted 'free bounds' on Wednesday afternoon. Though much was organised in the school, therefore, there remained opportunities for boys to learn to use or misuse their spare time, and even if it meant no more than the following anonymous verse from a 1937 *Chronicle*, there is W. H. Davies' authority for the value of doing nothing:

> Beside the wandering stream he lay,
> A stompie in his hand;
> His shirt was off, his naked frame
> Lay bare in Jaffray's land.

As the verse indicates, freedom to wear what one pleased was one of the pleasures of 'free bounds'. For the classroom, however, there was now a school uniform, which Bushell had introduced: blue blazer and grey flannel trousers for weekdays, blue suits (and stiff collars) for Sundays. Currey decided that it would be wise to register the colours. This was an innocuous suggestion which led to unexpected complications and an unpleasant brush with the Old Boys' Club, which was not resolved until the eve of Currey's departure. The cause of the difficulty was that the original, somewhat imprecisely described, coat of arms required some modification for registration; the Old Boys' Club, on the

other hand, did not want a change in the old coat of arms. The coat of arms eventually accepted and registered featured St Michael, prominently in the centre, subduing a dragon and surrounded by small St Michael's crosses and surmounted by a crest containing the scales of justice. It was the crest which was used for ordinary school uniform, each house having it embroidered in a different colour, the figure of St Michael being reserved for the honours badge.

The granting of a coat of arms presupposes a sense of permanence and a sense of dignity if it is not to be laughably incongruous. Pascoe's rectorship contributed especially to the sense of permanence; formal dignity was a development particularly of Currey's rectorship. To this, not only the improvement of the buildings and grounds contributed: there was also a greater formality about the annual speech days, re-introduced by Bushell and now including formal speeches by boys in Latin, French, Zulu, English and Afrikaans; and the more formal organisation of extra-curricular activities helped to make Michaelhouse a more sophisticated society. The fact that national figures were among the guests of honour invited to school functions during the period signified that Currey wanted the school to be a South African institution and that the guests were willing to recognise this—Smuts in 1930, Hofmeyr in 1937 and Governors-General in 1932, 1935 and 1938, to whom should be added the Agent-General for India in 1933 (the Kunwar Singh). Moreover, an authoritative, calm dignity was in the eyes of the boys perhaps the most prominent characteristic of Currey himself.

The outward signs of formal dignity were an indication that the simple structures of Michaelhouse society were being altered. It was possible in a small school to rely on a prefectorial system and a fairly straightforward division between masters in authority and pupils under an obligation of obedience for the maintenance of order; and it was not unreasonable to feel that the personal influence of the staff—and especially the Rector—was sufficient to educate the boys in a sense of responsibility. Even in a small school it was questionable whether these assumptions were sound—Bushell suggested when he was Acting Rector that more responsibility should be given to senior boys and particularly prefects. In a school of 300 it would have been possible to maintain order by strengthening the distinction between staff and boys, but it would have been difficult to maintain that more than a

small group of boys was being educated in the responsibilities of leadership.

In the thirties, membership of the committees of the various societies provided an opportunity for the exercise of responsibility; membership of the Games Committee was another such opportunity; and in 1937 a School Council was established as a 'consultative body.' Moreover, since members of staff also served on the committees, sometimes, but not always, in positions of overt leadership, the distinction between authority and the boys was blurred. The hierarchies in the society were further modified by the strengthening of the house system, which made the house more clearly the unit than the form: classrooms became attached to a master or a house instead of to a form; and house prayers were held twice a week instead of once.

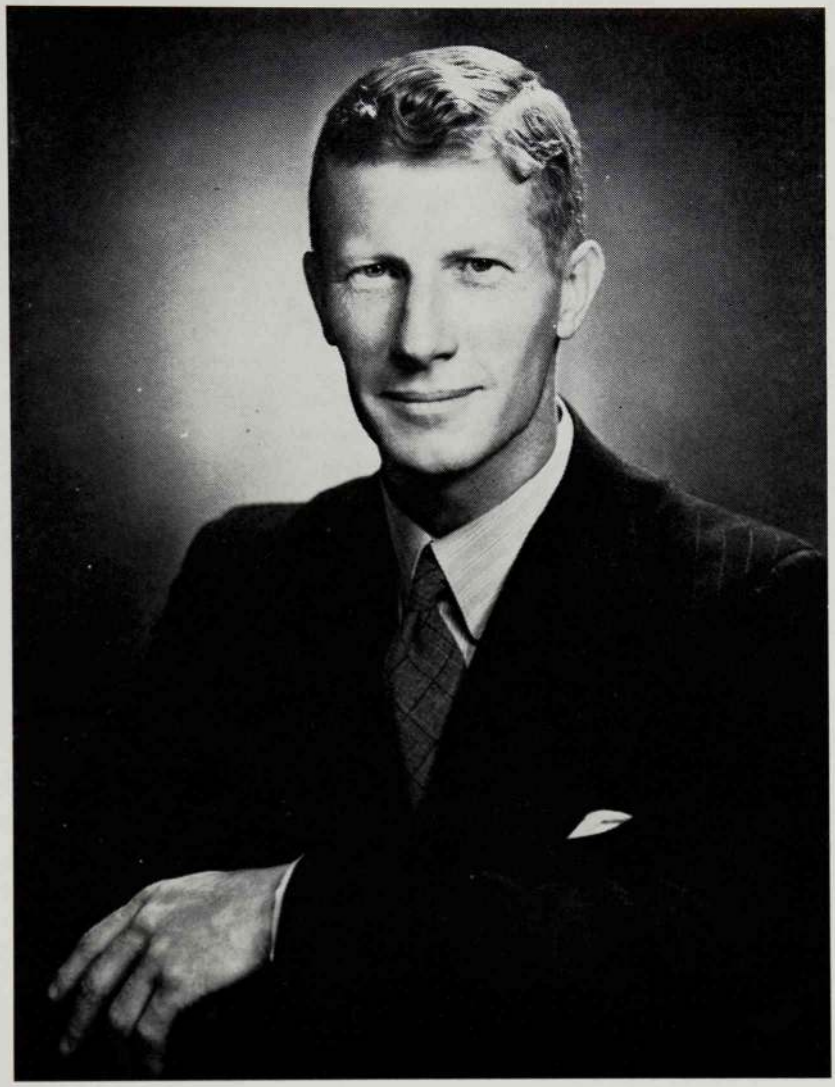
The Rector remained unmistakably the leader in the society and retained his direct contacts with the boys partly through teaching, partly through the practice (which he introduced) of having a 'Rector's reading period', when he read to a group of new boys, and partly through the occasional, formal and informal, encounters which most headmasters are able to utilise. There was nevertheless a considerable devolution of authority which enabled the more complex society to function with a reasonable degree of flexibility.

That Michaelhouse in a time of rapid expansion was able to avoid the dangers of a fragmented, impersonal society, was due to many factors—most notably the foundations laid by his predecessors and the quality of the staff he was able to engage and keep—but what the valedictory notice in the *Chronicle* calls Currey's 'genius for organisation' had much to do with it. The wise and sympathetic support of Leonard Noel Fisher, Bishop and Chairman of the Board of Governors, was also a great source of strength for the school. But perhaps Currey's resignation is an indication of an even deeper source, for it symbolised both his sense of duty and his concept of the role of independent schools in South Africa.

When the headmaster of St Andrew's was about to retire, the Council informally approached Currey to take his place, but Currey had felt bound to refuse the offer, for he had been at Michaelhouse less than four years, and the Rev C. B. Armstrong had been appointed. When Armstrong announced his resignation in 1938, the Council again approached Currey, this time more

urgently, for it was an 'anxious and unhappy' time for the school, with numbers falling and finances uncertain. On this occasion he accepted, because, as he explained to a special meeting of the Board of Governors and was later to argue cogently in a pamphlet, he felt that independent schools have a distinct contribution to make to South African life and that they cannot make the contribution unless they are mutually helpful. He was also, of course, an Old Andrean. But the decision involved a reduction in salary and sacrificing the prospect of enjoying his achievement at Michaelhouse. The last official function of his rectorship was, fittingly, the ceremony to lay the foundation stone of the new chapel, a project towards which he had been working for several years. Michaelhouse was, however, to continue to benefit from his sense of purpose, for it was as a result of a pamphlet written by him and privately published in 1942, that a Commission was appointed by the Archbishop and 'The Standing Committee of (Anglican) Church Schools' was established.

Meanwhile he had not only led Michaelhouse in an orderly expansion but had made it more clearly a South African school. The use he made of formal occasions, the increasing support for the school from the Transvaal, the important core of South Africans on the staff and the fact that he was himself a South African, all helped to achieve this. But in particular Currey was one of a small but distinguished group of men (J. H. Hofmeyr, O. Schreiner and E. H. Brookes were among the others), who discussed and published critical appraisals of policy in the thirties. Currey did not involve either himself or the school in party politics, but he was concerned about the body politic of South Africa and his attitude influenced at least some boys to appraise their country's affairs with a wider vision. Michaelhouse was a school set in the Natal countryside and modelled on a peculiarly English institution, but Currey demonstrated more clearly than any of his predecessors that these were not antiquated moats but sources of strength for a South African institution.



FREDERICK ROWLANDSON SNELL
Rector 1939-1952

Creative Arts

Open air Theatre:
Henry V, 1958

". . . *'tis your thoughts that now must deck our kings*"

Art School Press: This and the Theatre were established during the Second World War

CHAPTER NINE

Snell: Creative Vigour Amid War's Disruption 1939-1952

BY 1938, Michaelhouse evinced an unmistakable air of maturity. Not only were the grounds and buildings a growing source of pride (provided one did not look at some of the ramshackle structures behind the school); standards of scholarship were sound and several additions to the normally somewhat narrow school curriculum were securely established. Although the staff were young—the most senior men were under 45—there was a strong and stable core; and for the boys there was an expanding variety of organised activities. Not many Old Boys had achieved positions of leadership in society—partly because there can have been few as old as fifty. The standing of the school was nevertheless more secure than it had ever been and its reputation more widespread: that it featured in a series of articles in the *Illustrated London News* was a sign that it had become 'established'. The choice of Currey's successor showed nevertheless the governors were not complacent about the school's progress and recognised the truth of Currey's observation—made a few years later—that 'Independence is not a thing of value per se; what makes it valuable is the spiritual vitality and vigour which spring from it.' Their choice rested on a man who was not only young—35—and therefore had many years of service to give but looked so much younger than his age that he could have been mistaken for a prefect; and he was, withal, possessed of quite exceptional vitality.

Frederick Rowlandson Snell was senior science master at Eastbourne College when he was appointed Rector. He was a scholar of Winchester—a school noted both for its scholarship and for the sensitive social conscience of many Wykehamists—and a scholar of Oriel College, Oxford, where he gained a first class

in chemistry and won a research exhibition which led to the B.Sc. degree. That he possessed both the qualities for which Wykehamists were noted is demonstrated by his scholarship successes, by his choosing as his first appointment a post as a lecturer in Agra and by the fact that in Eastbourne he was deeply involved in one of the pressing social problems of the time, for he was vice chairman of the Eastbourne Unemployment Council and on the council of the Distressed Areas Association. He was, moreover, deeply committed to the Christian faith as a rational theology and as a foundation for moral behaviour. Before he took up his post at Michaelhouse, he expressed his conviction that 'the most important function a school has to perform is to give its sons knowledge and faith; knowledge such as may fit them to seek and recognise in life the good and true and beautiful as well as enable them to earn their living, and a faith which will be to them at once a compass and an anchor in these times of swiftly moving change.'

By the time this was written, the forlorn attempt to stave off war by the meeting at Munich was past and before the end of Snell's first year of office, the Second World War began. Although Snell held office for longer (fourteen years) than any other Rector, the war and its aftermath made him in some respects a more circumscribed agent than any of his predecessors. In common with other headmasters he had to contend with staffing difficulties and an almost total ban on buildings during the war and with rapidly rising prices, strict government control of building and the problem of resettling the staff for many years after the war. Because of the nature of the war itself, but also because the school was a much more complex institution, Michaelhouse was much more deeply affected by the Second World War than by the First.

It was Old Boys rather than the school that the war affected immediately, of course; and, since South Africa was not yet fully mobilised, it was those in British forces who were the first directly involved. Before September 1939 was out, P/O Selley of the R.A.F. had been presented to the King in recognition of his sinking a submarine and his contemporary, D. Heaton Nicholls, was soon afterwards shot down and captured in a raid on the Kiel canal—the first of a long list of prisoners of war. Early the following year, the first two decorations to go to Old Boys were bestowed on Squadron Leader G. C. Tomlinson for his skill,

courage and determination in patrols, raids and interceptions and on Selley for his courage in the evacuation of Dunkirk.

These were all men of the Royal Air Force: indeed, at the end of 1939, fifteen of the twenty Old Boys recorded as in the forces were in the R.A.F. By the end of 1940, however, the proportion had changed altogether, for out of just over 330 reported on active service, only 22 were in the British Forces. In contrast to the practice in the First World War, indeed, Old Boys in the Second World War nearly always joined a South African unit, although many—especially in the navy—were subsequently seconded to a British unit.

The numbers involved rapidly rose: by the end of 1941 there were nearly 600 on active service and by the end of the war twice this number had served full time in the forces. Probably more than half the total number of Old Boys from 1896 to 1945 served full time and very many others were, of course, contributing directly or indirectly to the war effort in civilian life: for, even in a country where there was no conscription, it was of the nature of this 'total' war that few could escape involvement.

In their responsibilities, they represented ranks from Major General downwards (the Major General was R. W. D. Leslie, R.A.M.C., one of the Todd generation); their service in bravery and organisation was marked by 77 decorations, including 6 D.S.O.s, 13 M.C.s, 20 D.F.C.s, and a C.M.G.; and their exploits, which ranged the world, recall events which in the total strategy were both grand and trivial but which meant everything at the time to those involved.

During the Battle of Britain in 1940, Pilot Officer (subsequently Wing Commander) E. J. Morris wrote of 'the great fun floating down' when he was forced to bale out after a collision with a German bomber—and qualified his enthusiasm with the observation that 'war is truly long periods of boredom interspersed with short periods of acute fear.' The ceaseless battle to keep the Mediterranean open is recalled by the first naval award to an Old Boy—the D.S.C. to Sub-Lieut. C. Watson of the South African minesweeper (a converted whaler) *Southern Maid*. The disaster of Tobruk is reflected in the sudden increase from 23 to 91 prisoners of war at the end of 1942, some of whom managed to organise a Hilton-Michaelhouse baseball match in Camp 47. There is the advance of the 6th Division through Italy and the citation for Lt. F. G. Chennels's M.C., recounting how he climbed

out of his own tank to rescue the crew of another which was on fire and fought off the enemy to do so. Among the Royal Engineers who landed in Normandy to clear a path ahead of the infantry was Lt. I. C. Dickinson, who wrote, with some understatement, that 'soon it was like Oxford Street in a traffic jam', and who was awarded an M.C. for his part in getting the traffic flowing into Europe.

The grim story of disaster and victory in the east is epitomised in the endurance of R. May: escaping from Singapore on the day of the capitulation in 1942, by river, lorry, train and, eventually, the relative security of a warship; sunk within less than a day of the haven of Australia and picked up by the Japanese after 17½ hours in the water; eight months in a viciously punitive camp in Macassar before being removed to Nagasaki, where a sadistic sergeant-major offered the prisoners cigarettes and, having lit them, called the guard to beat them for disobeying orders against smoking; the increasing hope, fed by news gleaned from newspapers which a Chinese boy translated for them; the transfer to a coal mine twenty miles from Nagasaki in June 1945 and the rise in temperature when Nagasaki was bombed; and, finally, the news on August 15th that the war was over.

The accounts, not unnaturally, do not describe overtly the 'short periods of acute fear,' still less do they record the 'long periods of boredom;' for they are not diaries but, for the most part, official citations or letters written to K. M. Pennington, secretary of the Old Boys' Club, whose labour of pride it was to maintain contact with hundreds and to record their fate. But one account is rather different, for it is a copy of a letter written to his parents by a youth not long out of school, in which are charted, by implication at least, the shoals of utter desolation and the sea of enduring, faithful courage which are prominent features of the map of war.

A/B A. V. Large was sunk in H.M.S. *Cornwall*, endured 36 hours in the Atlantic and was at last rescued. Not long afterwards the rescuing ship was sunk and he and fifty others found themselves in a rudderless, mastless, sailless boat 700 miles from land with three gallons of fresh water, some biscuits and chocolate. Making do with a raincoat-lining and a dozen shirts for a sail (rigged on the oar), they managed to keep going and eked out their rations by sucking fish caught on a bent nail. But the strain began to tell and by the seventeenth night there were only thirty

left. Then they sighted a merchant ship 400 yards away: it passed by; and 'people just gave up after that so that four days later there were only nine of us left.' They were too dry to eat anything but chocolate and it took them an hour to get down a piece 1″x½″x¼″. At last rain fell—'not a tantalising drizzle, but a gorgeous tropical downpour'—from which four of them had strength enough to suck survival. This was about the twenty-first day and thereafter the four survivors established a sort of daily routine: bailing at dawn if it had rained, a longing look for a ship, a slow breakfast and a talk until the sun drove them to shelter; congregating about four to talk, to derive strength from the New Testament (the property of an R.A.F. sergeant who had died) and an 'odd and unorthodox' service conducted by Tony Large. At last there were signs of land: the sound of a plane; two days later, the sight of a plane and some birds; a Sunderland flying boat the next day; a black spot in a dark layer of cloud, whose nature the gloom of early morning tantalisingly obscured. And then, after 39 days in the boat, they were picked up and taken to the hospital in Freetown.

For many who served and survived or served and were killed, there are no details. A poem in memory of R. S. (Selley) and comrades, written by a master who served in the Natal Carbineers, N. A. St J. Davis, must stand for them:

No details known. Only imagination roams
The clouds, the storms, the often uneventful path
About the hazards of impenetrable night.
. . . You fought in vain with fearful Mars
And died with his last laughter in your deadened ears—
His haze of smoke and vapours all your pyre, until
Once more the wefts of broken myths are woven new,
And tranquil untapped wells of Peace are plumbed; and pride
With sorrow sings 'Northward you did not climb in vain.'

There are 128 on the Roll of Honour, nearly two-thirds of them in the S.A.A.F. or R.A.F.; and over a half were killed in North Africa, the Mediterranean or Italy. It was a high toll and represented about one in every hundred Union fatal casualties. Their memorial at the school is the chapel, whose crypt was first used in the dark days of 1940, but whose completion had to await a building permit, granted at last at the end of 1949. It was dedicated on Ascension Eve 1952, the last year of Snell's office and the first year of Bishop Inman's episcopate, in the presence of a con-

gregation of 800. The memorial tablets were dedicated the following day, when Currey gave the address to the Old Boys who had come to remember their fellows and the cause for which they had fought.

For the boys at school the war was a swirling mist, sometimes clearing so that it was hardly noticeable, occasionally so enveloping as to halt them in their tracks, mostly evident as a bank ahead, beyond which lay university or careers and the questions of a new order and peace. Editorials in the *Chronicle*, written by boys, expressed this view: youth must prepare for this 'war more terrible than any in the world's history' and must prepare now, for if we delay 'these problems of the future will not be for us to determine.' Many did not wait. Numbers in the sixth form went up in the early part of the war, from 28 in 1940 to 34 in 1942, but for several it was no more than a delaying action on the part of parents, since they left to join up at any time from Easter to Michaelmas; and the age of the leaders in the school was often only sixteen or just seventeen at the beginning of the year.

For them and the others still at school, there were solemn reminders of the war—if reminders were needed—in the special intercessions in the chapel (with voluntary attendance) after the final period on Wednesdays and the growing roll of honour read with the school prayers at evensong on Sundays. And there were opportunities for practical contributions through helping to convert a house in Howick for use as a Toc H hostel and through war fêtes which were held for a few years until transport difficulties led the School Council to determine to hold no more in 1943. There were lighter moments, however, and 1943 was the year in which the school happily celebrated with a half holiday the almost simultaneous occurrence of three events any one of which might have been responsible for the Rector's magnanimity: the birth of a son to the Rector, the defeat of the fancied Durban High School XV and the capitulation of Italy. There were still twenty months to V.E. Day, however, and nearly two years to go before the capitulation of Japan. It was the former that evoked the most spontaneously joyful response, as if all cares had suddenly vanished —with the news of the impending armistice streamers appeared from nowhere, a battle with fire hoses drenched the quad and a long-suffering old Chevrolet truck drove a load of boys noisily about the estate. The officially sanctioned celebrations included a bonfire and the declaration of a whole holiday.

The real significance of the war and of victory was marked by services of thanksgiving at which the Rector reminded the boys (and visitors) of the obligations demanded of peace; and later in the year, the *Chronicle*'s editorial—written by N. G. Lyon shortly before his sudden death—called for a return to 'normal' standards, strained by six years of makeshift, but for a rejection of the 'normal' which had meant poverty for millions.

In two spheres in particular, the makeshifts forced on Michaelhouse, as on other schools, were very apparent: buildings and staffing. It is in fact remarkable that so much constructive work —indeed pioneering work in the South African context—was done both during the war and for several years afterwards, when it was still necessary to resort to makeshifts.

Snell had hardly taken up the reins when at the beginning of 1939 he presented the Governors with a memorandum on 'Planning and General Development'. After a period of rapid development, the school then had 314 boys. Snell recommended planning for 330 divided into six houses (there were then five). For these a new chapel (already begun) was needed; a block, to accommodate geography, biology, art and a new house, should replace the ramshackle buildings behind the school; the music rooms should be rebuilt and placed further from the school; a permanent gymnasium and carpentry shop were required; an assembly hall should be built; and the eastern cloisters should be refurbished to conform with the rest of the quad.

During the course of the year, various alterations improved the specialist facilities for biology and chemistry, provided music and art with a more distant 'school' in *Vectis* and made it possible to accommodate a new house, Pascoe's, partly in Farfield Cottage, partly over the main entrance to the school and partly—at least as to cleanliness—in the old music rooms, now turned into a wash house overlooking the foundations of the new crypt. Early the following year, four staff houses were completed, but the grand plans of the Memorandum had to wait for ten years before government building restrictions were relaxed sufficiently for major operations to be put into effect; and in the meantime another memorandum, while reiterating most of the recommendations of the first, suggested rather different priorities and added some new proposals. It was not until the end of 1947 that a permit was received for the relatively minor alterations to East, but it was a sign that restrictions were being eased and six months later the

Board was authorised to proceed with an additional dining hall and new buildings for Pascoe's, which they occupied in 1950. This marked a resumption of the tempo of the building development which had been a feature of the pre-war period.

In staffing, the exceptional advantages of the immediately pre-war situation could not be recovered. Initially the problem was simply one of attempting to fill the gaps left by men going on active service, but the size of even this problem may be gauged from the fact that, by the middle of 1940, seven men had been released, two of them housemasters (F. van Heijst and C. Melville) and two of them other senior men (J. Pridmore and P. J. Hall). Two more joined up in the next twelve months, one a housemaster (J. B. Chutter, who became Senior Chaplain to the 2nd Division); and at the end of 1941 the Rector reported that more than a third of those who had been on the staff at the beginning of 1940 were on active service. Three of these men were able to return to the staff before the end of the war; but even excluding these, there was a high proportion of posts for which permanent appointments could not be made, because the Board had, rightly—and in contrast to the practice in the First World War—guaranteed reinstatement to those who joined up. This naturally added to the difficulties of recruiting staff and of retaining them.

In the emergency of 1940 the majority of the recruits were retired men returning valiantly to campaign in the classrooms and one of them could undoubtedly claim a victory: F. S. Bishop returned at the age of 72, still with the attributes of a chief petty officer, still taking a cold plunge, still an enthusiast for the stage and still thorough in his mathematical instruction so that although his veteran's campaign was short—he retired again in 1942—his mark was clear. Most of the other war-time appointments were of young men, however, and although only one of them (J. J. A. van Schaik) was still on the staff in 1946, they helped to keep the school not only functioning but vigorous. And to them must be added the women—Miss Ball, Miss Hills (who married J. L. Robinson and therefore is still an invaluable reserve on the estate), Mrs Symes, Miss Snell (in a part time capacity) and, for a time when biology would otherwise have been impossible to retain, Mrs Snell: as a group the quality of their teaching could match that of the recruits of the 1930's and they helped to sustain and strengthen a number of extramural activities as well.

The chief problem, indeed, was lack of stability, for of thirty-

four new members of staff between 1940 and the end of 1945, only half-a-dozen remained for more than three years. Peace, moreover, did not restore the pre-war tranquillity, partly, no doubt, because the war itself acted as a temporary brake on changes among members of the permanent staff—most of the senior men who left had been on the staff for ten or fifteen years, by pre-war standards a long time for men to be satisfied with Balgowan's pastures. By 1949 five housemasters had left to lead preparatory schools (C. M. Melville, C. E. Birks, J. Pridmore, F. van Heijst and D. Pennington) and other men left to farm, to go into business or to teach in other countries or elsewhere in South Africa.

Misfortune and tragedy, moreover, aggravated the situation. T. A. Strickland's health had begun to deteriorate some time before his fifteen years as housemaster of East expired in 1944 and its continuing deterioration forced his resignation from teaching less than two years later, when he was still in his early fifties.

Death created two more gaps in the senior ranks. N. G. Lyon had joined the staff in 1931 and, even before being appointed housemaster of Pascoe's, he had made a strong contribution to the cultural life of the school. He was, moreover, the first careers master at the school—a field then untilled in most schools. He died suddenly of a heart attack when he was less than forty in 1945.

Five years later the school lost one who had had a longer association with the school than any of the academic staff except K. M. Pennington. A. P. Woods was a distinguished sportsman at school and at Rhodes after the First World War. Indeed, he is most widely remembered for his achievements as a provincial cricketer (for the Eastern Province and Natal) and as one of the initiators and staunch supporters of the Natal Schools Cricket Week. His jovial sportsmanship was, however, only one sign of his deep Christian commitment, his remarkable capacity for making and keeping friends, and his generous humour which released tensions: qualities which are especially valuable in such a tightly knit community as Michaelhouse. He took over the housemastership of West during the war and was appointed acting Senior Master in the middle of 1950 for K. M. Pennington's absence, and there was every likelihood that he would be appointed permanently to the post. But although he seemed to have recovered from a heart attack earlier in the year and he was able to return to his task of 'acting like a shelter to nestless young birds'

(as the Compound lament put it), he had another attack and died before the end of the year.

With his death, there were only six of the pre-war staff left: P. D. Barnard, who was to resign early in 1951; A. R. Chapman who was then in England for his son's health but was to return in 1951; J. B. Chutter, who was later to become Hon. Director of the Michaelhouse Trust; N. A. St J. Davis, whose health deteriorated until he had to resign but who later rejoined Snell at Peterhouse; J. L. Robinson, who subsequently became Senior Master and is the only one still (1968) on the staff; and, of course, K. M. Pennington.

The loss of so many senior men was serious. The difficulty of replacing them with a stable nucleus seemed almost insurmountable—from 1946 to 1952 there were over sixty appointments to the staff, some of them temporary leave replacements, but a large number for a staff of about 25.

Some of the reasons were no doubt peculiar to Michaelhouse. Although transport was better than it had been, Balgowan was still somewhat isolated and in the restless period after the war the atmosphere may well have seemed too rural for some. Moreover, good recruits were not easily attracted because Michaelhouse salaries for single men lagged behind the provincial service until they were improved in 1951; and even then they were reckoned as not as good as the salaries at other private schools. Some of those on the staff would also no doubt have preferred Snell to take a less direct part in the day-to-day affairs of the school. It was his policy to work through housemasters in particular, arranging to this end to have his family farmed out regularly so that he could meet housemasters over dinner and into the night to discuss matters of common concern; on the other hand he was thoroughly involved in the school's life and not a mere figurehead, and while this was admired by some, it appeared as trespassing to others. The relationship between headmaster and staff is, moreover, likely to be affected by the senior master's intermediary position. But Snell, like Currey before him, had inherited from Hannah a structure which could hardly have worked entirely satisfactorily whatever the personalities involved, for there were nominally two men who shared the status and allowance for Senior Master: T. A. Strickland and K. M. Pennington, until the former's retirement. In fact K. M. Pennington was the effective Senior Master and deputised for the Rector (whether Currey or Snell)

in his absence. This worked admirably in respect of the hierarchy from Rector to boys, but the anomalous structure was bound to make the task difficult in respect of the hierarchy from Rector to staff: the responsibility of a Senior Master to be an intermediary and chief adviser was blurred, to the common disadvantage of the Rectors, the Senior Masters and the staff, and the retirement of Strickland could not overnight bring the situation into focus.

Michaelhouse was, however, not alone in its difficulties. It took a few years for ex-servicemen to complete their training after the war and economic conditions no longer made teaching especially attractive. Moreover, the accession of the Nationalist Party to power in 1948 made recruitment from overseas more difficult and stimulated many to leave South Africa. It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of St. Andrew's records that staffing continued to be a serious problem well into the fifties; and every year from 1945 to 1953 the Natal Director of Education drew attention to the pressing problem of staffing. with a nett loss to the permanent establishment every year except 1948 (when there was a recruiting drive in Britain).

Nevertheless there remained at Michaelhouse a small nucleus of senior men, and among the recruits after the war were sixteen who remained for more than four years—about half of them appointments of United Kingdom graduates. And in this group were some whose contribution was to be at least as distinctive as that of pre-war appointments. For among them was R. T. S. Norwood, whose appointment in 1949 direct to a housemastership from Kingswood school created a precedent, and who subsequently became Senior Master and Rector; another was R. C. Brooks who, having contributed especially to the dramatic tradition of the school, was appointed to the headmastership of Cordwalles; a third was the first Old Boy to be a chaplain, B. B. Burnett, who was subsequently consecrated Bishop of Bloemfontein; and there were three whose length of service alone could challenge that of their predecessors: R. L. Ibbotson, J. P. Lowe and R. G. Hennessey. In addition, Lance Knight became Estate Manager (and, in 1953, Bursar); and Mrs Doris Campbell was installed in the school's portals, nominally as Rector's Secretary, in practice as gracious initiator of parents and full participant in the school's life.

Snell had described the function of a church school to 'give its sons knowledge and faith' and, in spite of the staffing difficulties, he was able to continue the development of the curriculum

in a way that displayed a broad conception of 'knowledge'.

In the first place, the curriculum became more flexible: the distinction between a 'classical' and a 'modern' side, already blurred, was dropped and 'setting' (already widespread) became the rule in each subject right through the school. These changes were reflected in the use of the terms A, B, C and D Block to replace Upper V, Lower V, IV and III Form, numerals being used to designate the particular set—D1 English was the top English set in D Block, A2 Afrikaans the second Afrikaans set in A Block (the matriculation form). Moreover, when regulations permitted seven subjects to be written for matriculation, the whole school worked to a seven-subject time-table from 1941 and it became possible to take a wide variety of subjects. Taking Greek, for instance, had hitherto meant dropping science from the C Block (Form IV), whereas it was now possible for the very few Greek scholars to do both; with biology fairly firmly established, there were four sciences to choose from—chemistry, physics, physical science and biology; and, from 1945, it became possible to take both Afrikaans and French. The examination curriculum was, however, strictly in the academic tradition, with no 'searching for soft options' permitted, as Snell put it—bookkeeping was already on its way out in 1939 and was not re-admitted, and the only exceptions to the rule (at least in the sense that they were not traditional examination subjects) were Zulu, Art and, occasionally, Music.

The offering of a wider range of subjects within the academic tradition was largely a development of tendencies apparent since Bushell's day. There were, however, two notable experiments.

In his last speech as Rector, Currey had insisted: 'We are South Africans, not scattered exiles'; and Snell was equally insistent on this theme. He was consequently deeply concerned about the standing of Afrikaans in the school and in an effort to improve the bilinguality of the boys, Geography was taught through the medium of Afrikaans in certain sets in C and B blocks. The experiment was reported to have run successfully for two years, but seems then to have petered out, presumably through lack of suitable staff. At about the same time (1945), it was made obligatory for all Union Nationals to learn Afrikaans—some had hitherto taken French as an alternative.

The other experiment was unequivocally successful. Art had been in the curriculum for some time, taught to the junior forms,

but the fact that it was labelled 'Drawing' was an indication of its status, and it was not in the hands of a specialist. In 1940, however, the first step was taken towards the establishment of an Art School when Miss Clarence was appointed specifically for art. The following year J. J. van Schaik took over and the combination of his skill and imagination and Snell's enthusiasm led to a remarkably rapid and significant development. Sharing the old bungalow, 'Vectis', with Music, the Art School became the centre for a range of activities which would be remarkable even now in South Africa. Besides painting, lino cuts and carving, there was architectural drawing, a potter's wheel and kiln and a printing press—the latter initially a 'home designed and home built machine' which was replaced by an electrical one off which rolled items from programmes to literary supplements. It was clearly an experiment which not only provided creative opportunities for the boys in and out of school time but which caught the imagination of others as well, for the Durban Art Gallery staged two exhibitions of the work of the Art School and the Rector was invited to broadcast on the rôle of the School. Although it did not retain its full vigour after the departure of van Schaik in 1947, art remained a permanent and significant part of the school's activities; whereas it was only in the 1950's that it began to find its way into the high schools of the Natal Education Department.

Two other creative fields were developed or explored in the forties, one of them somewhat peripheral and for that reason, perhaps, less secure. In about 1949 an Engineering Society began in the basement of Farfield, stimulated by one of the masters, Milford. Snell took advantage of the enthusiasm to apply for a grant from the de Jooste Trust for a properly equipped workshop and, when Milford left, appointed a retired doctor and enthusiastic mechanic, Dr Laurie, to take charge. Although it never attracted so much attention or so many boys as the Art School, it provided an alternative extra-curricular activity for a nucleus of enthusiasts.

More significant in the school's life was music, if only because of its place in chapel services. Currey had appointed the first full-time master in charge of music and Snell, himself an enthusiastic organist, tried hard to develop this side of the school. At his first Board Meeting he obtained permission to increase the responsibilities of the Director of Music; and at the same time he got support for a scheme to develop a school orchestra and to try

to ensure that 'talent did not go unnoticed.' Soon, with J. Lea-Morgan as Director, there was indeed a modest orchestra, and it managed to survive even when the wind instrument instructor joined up. There was also a Music Society (a development of the old Gramophone Society), a Choral Society for the boys and a Madrigal Society for the staff; and the chapel choir became both more ambitious and more competent. The early promise was not fully maintained, however, and the orchestra suffered still further when, after the war, there were no longer teachers for the strings. Nevertheless, under E. Brett and then J. Hodgson, work became more ambitious and involved more of the school and there was a series of choral performances in conjunction with other schools. At the time of his departure from Michaelhouse, Snell had the satisfaction of knowing that in quality and enthusiasm music was well established under Hodgson, who pioneered a Summer School to which boys and girls from various parts of Natal were invited.

There were also developments in the Sixth Form curriculum. It had previously offered specialisation in the ordinary subjects of the matriculation examination, with the addition of a course of 'Rector's Lectures' geared to citizenship responsibilities. In 1940 a course of Bantu Studies was offered for the first time and a few years later Economics was included. These were, however, options and for the majority the curriculum continued to be an extension of the matriculation curriculum. In 1944 Snell re-organised the course so that, although there was still some specialisation, a series of integrated lectures was introduced to emphasise man in relation to his historical, social and physical environment. There were considerable modifications in the course subsequently as staff changed, but it was from this tradition (itself a development from the thirties) that the marked growth under Morgan was able to take place: a tradition in which the emphasis was placed on a liberal education with some specialisation but in which specific preparation for first year university examinations was deliberately discouraged.

For some the absence of an external examination was perhaps an invitation to loaf or to indulge in dilettantism, but a course tailored to first year university requirements would have limited the general educational value of the sixth form year and duplicated work for which the university is specifically designed; and the fact that between a third and a quarter of matriculants con-

tinued to return for a post matriculation year was an indication that the policy was a success.

Measured by matriculation results, the school's fortunes fluctuated. Once the staff changes occasioned by the war began to take effect, the percentage of failures was generally higher—and in 1948 and 1949 considerably higher—than the average for schools under the Natal Education Department. The proportion who matriculated, on the other hand, was usually better at Michaelhouse, though 1949 was a particularly bad year in this respect also; and there were two occasions when the proportion of first class passes was outstandingly good—in 1945 43% of the candidates obtained a first class pass and in 1947 40% did so. The results were somewhat uneven and, as remedial measures, Snell introduced afternoon periods on three days a week and brought additional pressure to bear on the heads of departments to supervise their juniors. These devices and, more particularly, the steadier staffing situation contributed to the improved results of Snell's last three years.

Apart from staffing, the most serious obstacle was probably the difficulty of providing suitable courses for the boys of below average ability. In the early days of the school it had been quite acceptable for a number of boys to leave without attempting the equivalent of the matriculation examination but by the forties it was assumed that all boys coming to Michaelhouse were aiming at the possession of a certificate; and, whether it was to be a School Leaving Certificate or a Matriculation Exemption Certificate, the syllabuses were the same. At Michaelhouse the high fees, quite apart from educational considerations, made retardation a policy to be avoided if possible, and although the possibility of superannuation (if a boy was eighteen months older than the average for his block) existed as a threat, this, too, was naturally implemented very cautiously.

One possibility of differentiating in order to improve statistics was to allow some boys to write six instead of seven subjects. Snell was clearly reluctant to do this, partly because the matriculation requirements made it a slightly uncertain advantage but chiefly because he believed that six subjects were educationally restricting; but eventually about ten or eleven per cent were allowed to write fewer than seven subjects. In 1951, moreover, Snell announced that he would introduce an additional form after C Block and before B block to give the 'weaker brothers' a

'better deal'. This was just before Snell's departure and it did not remain a permanent feature of the school, so that its value cannot be assessed, but the initial notification upset a considerable number of parents.

Among activities outside the class- or work-room, sport continued to develop along lines already laid down, with more boys participating regularly in 'minor' sports and with fortunes fluctuating in cricket and rugby.

Squash and tennis remained essentially voluntary recreational activities with few boys involved in team matches. During the war, indeed, matches were confined to inter-house competitions or to pitting staff against boys, except for an occasional tennis match against St Anne's or a military team. And even after the war inter-school matches were irregular, with Wykeham, St John's (Pietermaritzburg), St Anne's and Hilton as the main opponents until in 1951 Glenwood and St Charles were added to the list. Since squash was still rarely played elsewhere, matches were possible only occasionally, either against an Old Boys' team from Durban, where, it was reported, enthusiasm was growing, or a university team; but the standard at school was improving, partly, no doubt, because the courts were improved by the addition of more lights and of wooden floors (the latter put in partly by the boys).

Swimming, too, was largely recreational and Snell hoped to encourage a healthier matter-of-factness about the human body (and a reduction in the number of lost costumes) by insisting on nude bathing, for which purpose the hedge round the bath was grown high. Water-polo was introduced for enthusiasts by A. R. Walshaw in 1941 but the attention of swimmers was focused on the annual Inter-schools Gala in Pietermaritzburg and the Hilton match. The *annus mirabilis* was 1944, when Michaelhouse wrested the championship from Maritzburg College, who had held the cup for twelve years (and in most subsequent years).

Attention to athletics was concentrated on preparation for the inter-house meeting and a match against Hilton, except for the cross-country 'ramparts' which continued to be held when weather made other sport impossible—the course behind the school, last used in 1930, was resumed in 1942. In that year, of six records broken in the athletic sports, five were by J. Rymer in the under sixteen group. (As the result of an injury to a knee, he was unable to challenge the open records the following year.) In 1945

Michaelhouse entered for the first time in the invitation mile at Estcourt school, when, in an exciting finish, Skinner of Michaelhouse won in the record time of 4 min 41 sec from the Glenwood representative, Johnson, who had been third in the South African junior championship. Two years later, D. J. Clark won the same event.

For P.T. enthusiasts, there was a Gym Club, which flourished under Walshaw (the P.T. instructor), petered out on his departure and was revived again; and boxing was revived in 1945. Although the standard and enthusiasm fluctuated in the latter, Michaelhouse representatives did well in the first Natal Midlands Championship contests in 1950, winning the light-heavyweight and heavyweight titles and the best loser's cup.

Whether enthusiastic or not, all boys were involved in cadets (until 1951, when there was a major re-organisation under Norwood and the D Block was excluded). In the early years, drill —at first in fours and then, from 1940, in threes—was the main activity. Field work, however, began to play some part in the training—in addition to the annual 'field day'; and in 1951 the traditional annual inspection was replaced by a house competition and display which included 'wet bridging' over the swimming bath. Meanwhile, the signals corps progressed and the band, in spite of a lack of instructors, managed respectably at the inter-school competitions.

Among the team games, hockey continued to be a junior partner, but the number involved increased and by 1949 the school even fielded a third team, the first playing nine matches in that year, against club teams except for one against Hilton. The enthusiasm for the game was illustrated by the fact that when a voluntary Sunday league was started in 1943, there were a hundred applicants.

In spite of this enthusiasm, rugby continued to be regarded as the most important winter game. From a rather poor year in 1939, when only just over half the matches were won by the first fifteen, the teams enjoyed a respectable reputation without gaining sensational successes until the giant-killing defeat (under J. M. Pennington) of Durban High School in 1943, which aroused such enthusiasm at the school. The following season, with M. Price Moor (son of the Moor who had achieved so much in Hugh-Jones's time) as captain, was the most successful since 1936 and included two thrilling matches against Hilton, won 9-8 and 8-7. The next

few years were almost equally successful and, with the return of peace, tours, including a most successful one to Rhodesia, became a possibility. In the Jubilee year, 1946, the first beat Hilton at Hilton 13-12 in the last few minutes, but in the Jubilee match itself at Michaelhouse, the tables were turned, 3-4. Three years later, however, the record slumped and, although the 1950 team (under H. Currey, the former Rector's son) was described as 'courageous' and defeated the hitherto unbeaten Maritzburg College side comfortably, they lost considerably more matches than they won (12 against 3).

It is indicative of the importance attached to rugby—which the rugby notes of 1951 described as providing 'a training in courage and self-control and the best sort of toughness'—that the first fifteen's defeats caused serious adverse comment among Old Boys and others which the Rector felt obliged to comment on in one of his reports to the Governors; and the rugby notes for 1951 attributed part of the blame to the enthusiasm for hockey which, it was said, contributed to the falling enthusiasm for rugby. Since hockey had enjoyed enthusiastic support for a considerable time, including a period of sound achievement, this cannot be taken very seriously; and it may be argued that participation in hockey is as valuable for individual development as rugby.

The concern over the defeats illustrates, however, that the success of the first fifteen is taken as a more or less accurate indication of the tone of a school. In point of fact, 1949 was probably not a good year at the school, for it was the year of the exceptionally bad examination results; the cricket team (1948/49) is described as having had a good record but poor teamwork; and the general tone was sufficiently poor for Snell to take even more than usually determined action. In the following years, however, the tone unquestionally improved without any corresponding improvement in the first fifteen's results!

The rugby and cricket records, indeed, illustrate neatly the danger of making generalisations from first team successes and the truth that fortunes as well as coaches fluctuate; for the cricket slump came in 1944/5, when rugby was booming. Even in that season, however, there were sparkling performances—as in the two-day match against Hilton at Kingsmead, when the team, faced with 130 to get in 133 minutes, made the runs with seven minutes to spare; and in the consistently secure wicket-keeping of Price Moor, who was described as perhaps the best wicket keeper

The Rose Window

The Sanctuary Windows

at the school since Tom Campbell (the first Michaelhouse Springbok). (Another feat of the season deserves to be recorded as a remarkable curiosity: in the house matches, G. Henderson took all the Founders wickets for 4 runs, seven of them in consecutive balls). Three years later, when Natal schools included McGlew at Maritzburg College, Waite and Maclean at Hilton and A. Tayfield and Goddard at Durban High School, the Michaelhouse team, under Brazier, emerged with the highly creditable record of winning 12 school matches and losing only three and of beating Crockett's XI (which included two internationals) for the second time in the history of the series, the first occasion having been in 1926. The following years were equally good and in 1949/50, the captain, R. M. Greene, was selected for the South African Schools XI.

Although A. P. Woods nominally gave up coaching the first eleven when he became a housemaster in 1943 (his place being taken by Mr de Gersigny, a neighbouring farmer and father of a distinguished cricketer then at Michaelhouse), he was in fact constantly at hand to help Michaelhouse cricket and was the principal coach in several seasons and in other seasons helped with the coaching: his was a considerable contribution over two decades.

The organisation of non-athletic extra-mural activities continued to develop, much along lines already established and reflecting staff and boys' enthusiasm.

The old-established Debating Society generally enjoyed a membership of about fifty, though it sometimes dropped to about thirty or rose to about seventy: the establishment of a Junior Debating Society, tentatively in 1939 and more securely under D. S. Foster in 1941, does not seem to have affected the quality or quantity of the speakers in the senior society, though it provided an activity for boys in the lower school. The members of the society seem on the whole to have been cautious in their attitudes to matters of contemporary significance. In 1942, for instance, there was an overwhelming 'personal opinion' vote asserting that the Indians were not fit to rule themselves, but in the following year a motion supporting the government's Non-European policy was narrowly lost and there was a more comfortable defeat of a proposition that Indians should be repatriated (no 'personal opinion' votes are recorded). When communism was discussed, both during and after the war, a comfortable majority recorded

their hostility to its doctrines or to Russian policy. The alternative avenues of expressing opinions—the *Asp* (a Literary Supplement, printed by the Art School Press) and the *Balgowan Review* seem to have been used largely for lyrical poetry, stories or articles of a non-contentious nature, though the *Balgowan Review* became more political in its comments and was the precursor of *Beacon*.

The other old-established group, the Dramatic Society, staged a variety of plays and concerts, including an exclusively Afrikaans concert in 1943, but they continued during the war to be chiefly one act plays or thrillers (Galsworthy's *Escape* was a more ambitious exception in which Rex Pennington was 'remarkable for the readiness of his lines in the long part of Capt. Matt'). Snell himself was keen that a Shakespearean production should be attempted and when the open air theatre—constructed largely by the boys over several years—was at last completed in 1946, it invited a production outside the traditional Michaelhouse run, and Mrs Symes tackled *The Taming of the Shrew*. It was a great success, with J. Stranack as Petruchio and P. H. Friedman as Kate; and a special train brought pupils from Pietermaritzburg schools. The following year, *St Joan* was produced with the same principals and Stranack was still at school to play Shylock in 1948, when R. C. Brooks was the producer. The dramatic tradition, firmly established by D. Pennington, had been greatly enriched and an annual Shakespearean production came to be expected. Moreover they not only provided an opportunity for schoolchildren from Pietermaritzburg in particular to see Shakespeare acted—there were few other opportunities—but helped to stimulate other schools to put on their own productions: the Director's report for 1950 asserted that not enough attention was being paid to speech and drama (among other cultural activities) in Natal schools, and it was not until the fifties that school productions became at all common.

The other existing societies—the Literary Society, the Photographic Society and the Natural History Society—continued to attract varying numbers of boys, the last two suffering during the war from the difficulty of obtaining speakers who could travel to the school and (in the case of photography) from a shortage of equipment. A Zoological Society had a brief existence separate from the Natural History Society and was formed to stock a 'zoo'—which seems to have been confined to tortoises and a crow and was reminiscent of the pets' corner established informally in

the early days of the school. Other new societies had a longer life: an Agricultural Society was formed in 1941 with A. P. Woods as the enthusiastic staff organiser and, though it petered out for a time, it was revived and was reported as flourishing in 1951 (its activities included talks, visits to farms and at least a little experimental work in pasturage); and a Scientific Society, established in 1940 by J. L. Robinson and A. R. Chapman, enjoyed fairly consistent support and mounted several very good exhibitions. Besides the musical societies, the Engineering Society and the Gym Club, already mentioned, there were two other societies, which catered for specific hobbies rather than fields of interest: the Philatelic Society, reorganised by Mrs Snell and enjoying varying but on the whole growing support; and the Chess Club, formed in 1946 and playing a few matches five years later.

Another organised activity of a different sort was Scouting, which was established by M. E. Hardcastle in 1939 while he was on exchange, and by the end of 1940 there were nearly fifty scouts. For younger boys in particular it was a most valuable institution for it provided opportunities for constructive and adventurous activities in groups and for the exercise of some leadership. Scouting was launched with such enthusiasm that it survived the departure of Hardcastle for England and his two younger helpers (Simon and Gaylard) for active service, very largely through the determination of one of the boys, David R. Lee; but the lack of an experienced Scoutmaster eventually forced the 'suspension' of the troop, and, apart from a brief revival in the sixties, there was nothing similar to replace it until recently with the establishment of the Venture Club.

There were other activities which, while not being organised in formal societies, were given some direction by Snell or other members of the staff. In particular, Snell was deeply concerned to encourage a sense of service, partly through developing an awareness of the characteristics of South African society, partly through labour on behalf of the school or others. It was in the Sixth Form that the first approach was most noticeable, and especially through the development of the custom, established by Currey, of exchanging visits with students from Adams College—the African High School and Training College near Amanzimtoti. From two to four boys spent a few days at Adams College and Michaelhouse was in turn the host to three or four students, who became temporarily attached to the sixth form and to the school

prefects' room. The Bantu Studies group of the Sixth Form, moreover, helped to build a church for the Africans on the estate, under the guidance of D. Pennington and J. Zama (the Zulu teacher).

The idea of service was not, however, confined to the Sixth Form. Boys in the Art Department were encouraged to make articles for the school chapel and the open air theatre was largely the fruit of voluntary labour by boys of all ages. Moreover, at least one boy (K. M. Y. Browne) gave individual service, as a Sunday School teacher, to the Indian community on the estate. Away from the school, a group of boys planted fencing posts at the T.B. settlement at Botha's Hill during the Easter vacation of 1951. In order to recognise and to indicate the importance of these and other services (including service in the chapel, to sport and other more formal school activities) the practice of awarding credits and distinctions was extended, the boys having some say in the choice of awards by making recommendations through the School Council.

But more important than these outward signs was the conviction which Snell carried about him not only that 'a boy must learn to sink himself and to serve the common weal', but that this was the mark of his own full life. It was most apparent to senior boys who came into closest contact with him, but it was visible to others as well: his active encouragement of service enterprises was but an indication that his concern extended well beyond the formalities of an injunction to be good citizens. Moreover, he insisted that the school itself should accept social obligations and consequently established—with the help of a fête run by J. B. Chutter—an African school. It is impossible to generalise about the permanent effects of such an attitude, but at least one important pioneer attributes his concern for others in the South African society partly to the influence of Snell.

Inseparable from his determination to educate the boys in good citizenship was Snell's deep concern for the religious side of the school. This is, of course, what would be expected of the rector of a school with an overt connection with the church; and there are reminders for all but Brown that each of Snell's predecessors was concerned in different ways: Todd established the school as a Church of England foundation and secured the association with the diocese; Hugh-Jones built the first chapel; Pascoe worked hard to obtain a full-time chaplain and considered religion significant enough to warrant being reported on to the Governors; Bushell has

compiled a booklet of sermons he delivered, some of them at Michaelhouse; and Currey was not only the prime mover for the building of a new chapel and deeply committed to the idea of church schools, but also in 1939 associated himself publicly with a group which urged the need for spiritual renewal. Even for Brown, the lack of evidence may not be significant, though his religious interests do not seem to have impressed themselves on boys of the time.

There were, however, important differences between Snell's time and the early part of the century at least, and perhaps even as late as 1939. Though the Anglican Church in Natal had not been 'established'—either legally or in status—as it was in England, it was the most widely-spread denomination in the colony and regular attendance at church was not only taken as sufficient evidence of commitment to Christianity but was almost taken for granted as the mark of a gentleman. Moreover the Christian theology was not seriously challenged by most citizens, so that instruction in the catechism, attendance at chapel and sermons which were moral rather than theological could be taken as the essential characteristics of a religious education, together with some instruction in the Bible, usually of an historical nature. For Snell, the chapel was still the centre of the school's religious life and should be the centre of the school's life, and for this reason, among others, he pressed for the completion of the chapel as a War Memorial.

But Snell encouraged developments which would have been regarded as undesirable or unnecessary forty or fifty years earlier and by which he hoped to encourage a belief in the 'Christian Faith as true, not merely (in) Christian morals as praiseworthy'. His own sermons not only illustrated his faith but were instructive in Christian doctrine. Moreover in 1951, prompted by the depressing results of a simple test of religious knowledge administered to new boys, he wrote an 'open letter' to parents urging co-operation in the school's task, reminding them of the baptismal vows, asserting that a spiritual vacuum is impossible and that 'the question of a boy's religious development is ultimately the most important of all' and offering suggestions for help in the joint responsibility of ensuring this development. A Pioneer Society was founded by Tyrrell in 1948 and met regularly to discuss matters related to religion. Meanwhile, more responsibility was being given to the boys to determine the extent of their commitment.

Evensong on weekdays was made voluntary in 1939; in 1944 the Communion Service and a shortened mattins on Sunday were made alternatives and five years later the Communion Service was made entirely voluntary.

The effect of these changes is difficult to assess, but one cannot help believing that they counteracted, however mildly, the attitude that chapel attendance is simply a matter of routine, imposed by authority (or, at home, by convention). Nor can one judge the impact of the variety of preachers, though one stands out in the memory of many Old Boys: the Rev. H. P. Junod, chaplain to the Central Prison in Pretoria, who frequently preached or conducted Holy Week services from 1942 and whose burning sincerity and dedication still glows in the mind even if his hearers have forgotten his words. Clearly, however, there was no direct relation between the arrangement of chapel services and the tone of the school, for the factors contributing to the latter are necessarily extremely complex: indeed, in the year in which the tone was by all accounts poor (1949), it is reported that a series of week-day services on the theme of missionary work regularly filled the chapel.

Nevertheless, in the last two years of Snell's rectorship, the happy coincidence of several events contributed to the chapel's being able to provide a clearer focus of the school's life: the development of the chapel's music, which was signified by the affiliation of the choir to the Royal School of Church Music in 1952; the appointment of B. Burnett as chaplain—not only the first Old Boy to hold the position, but one in whom the Rector had complete trust; and the completion of the Memorial Chapel.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the chapel was dedicated as a War Memorial in 1952. It is notable also as the last work of F. L. H. Fleming, who had been a partner in the firm of Sir Herbert Baker, designer of the first chapel, and who had been the architect of most of the school's expansion since the First World War. Traditional in design, with small, high windows like its predecessor, its proportions suggest a broad foundation bound firmly to the earth by the arches, pillars and roof and confined by the hard bricks to that corner of the school; but it made it possible for the whole school to worship together in dignity and without a distracting crush for the first time in twenty-five years. Moreover, in its stained glass windows, it holds gems of which any school would be proud and which are rare indeed in South Africa.

Snell himself was convinced that the windows should be works of art and craftsmanship and an inspiration to future generations of boys, and the Board of Governors wisely appointed in 1950 a sub-committee of Archdeacon Inman, the Rev V. Shaw (an Old Boy) and Snell to consider both the placing and nature of the windows. Early the following year, they obtained estimates for windows to be made in South Africa, but they felt that they were unsatisfactory. Other inquiries followed, but the sub-committee began to despair until, in response to a letter from Snell, Archdeacon Wood of Cape Town recommended Ervin Bossanyi, whose work had been brought to his notice by the Dean of York.

It was, in a way, a slender recommendation, for, although Bossanyi had lived in England since 1934 (having fled from Nazi Germany) his main commissions in England had hitherto been almost confined to heraldic work and he was little known. Born in Hungary in 1891, he had trained in Budapest and won a travelling scholarship but was interned in France during the First World War. Although he produced works of art in various media (including stained glass) for public buildings in Germany where he lived after the war, most of his work was destroyed either by the Nazis or by bombing during the Second World War. In spite of his age there was therefore little by which critics could judge his ability, the chief one being a window in the Tate Gallery. He was nevertheless commissioned to create the Rose Window and the Apse windows, and though his first design for the Apse windows was modified at the request of the committee—they were able to view full-size transparent cartoons in position—the installation of the Rose window at the end of 1952 was a vindication of the committee's faith and proof of Bossanyi's inspiration. The Dean and Chapter of Canterbury Cathedral had meanwhile decided to place stained glass in the windows of the south quire transept and an exhibition of the Michaelhouse Apse windows led to the commission's being given to Bossanyi. Also as a result of the exhibition, came a commission from the Dean of Washington Cathedral (grandson of Woodrow Wilson) for the windows in the Woodrow Wilson Bay of the cathedral; and those were installed in 1961, just ten years after Michaelhouse had made the inspired choice.

The Michaelhouse Rose window was not publicly exhibited before its installation, but its richly glowing pattern of colours, the simplicity of its symbolism and the compassion and strength of

Christ's head make it the most directly appealing of the Chapel windows. It is, moreover, the most explicitly South African in its details: concentrated in the central glass is Christ blessing and holding a black and a white bird, nestling together as creatures of equal concern and equally protected by Him; surrounding the central panel, the flashing colours of birds of Natal brilliantly fill the small—and technically difficult—trefoils as symbols of Nature; and the whole recalls in miniature the glories of the Medieval craftsmen. In the lancet windows of the Apse (three of which were donated by Hilton College, the Tatham family and the Methley family) Christ is flanked by angels, whose eyes and gestures have an oriental quality which, together with the iridescent colours, convey elements of the Christian tradition with power and joy. The windows of the chapel—in their figures, their colours and the techniques of their craftsmanship—represent the depth of the tradition on which Michaelhouse draws; now in the crypt, furnished in memory of Snell's successor, Morgan, there are windows glowing no less in the medieval tradition, but designed by the Whitefriars Studio in a contemporary, more abstract, idiom. In the two groups of windows, more than anywhere else, there are symbolised the significance of Michaelhouse's foundation as a Church School.

The chapel, which cost just under £32,000, was financed largely by the War Memorial Fund and major donations were given for such special features as the organ (from Mr and Mrs C. Barlow), the bells (in memory of H. J. Butcher), the windows and several fine pieces of altar plate. It did not, therefore, materially add to the school's financial commitments. Other additions and rising costs, however, made the school's finances a source of recurring anxiety and forced the Governors to be cautious in at least some matters of policy. At the same time they had to face seriously the problem of rising fees and the danger of Michaelhouse's becoming simply a rich man's school, for as late as 1946 there were only six endowed scholarships.

Shortly after the outbreak of war the rising costs began to make a noticeable inroad into the school's profits and almost every year, except 1945 and 1948, the tale was repeated to the Governors. During the war, the increase was partly due to having staff on active service but particularly to rising housekeeping costs—they rose by nearly 20% in the twelve months June 1943 to June 1944, though a report by an outsider indicated that there was little

waste and (in spite of what boys might think) the food as good as could be supplied at the cost. After the war, 'housekeeping' costs continued to rise, and to these were added increases in salaries and (with building developments) a marked rise in interest charges—the cost of the latter per boy rose more than threefold in the years 1948 to 1952.

It was, indeed, a serious handicap to development that, without endowments major expansion could not (and never had) taken place without adding to the school's debt. Shortly after the war, a special appeal was made to Old Boys to reduce the interest burden by lending the school money at 3%, and eventually, particularly as a result of a visit by the Rector to Johannesburg, £13,000 was received, including £5,000 from the Rhodes Trustees. It was, however, only a temporary relief, for such minor works as the new estate manager's offices and the major extension of Pascoe's wing soon brought the school's debts up to £100,000.

The lack of financial resources made the Board cautious about buying additional land, which Snell insisted was an urgent necessity to rehouse the African servants of the school. Snell, with the support of a sub-committee, even obtained an option to purchase a part of Lower Lynedoch, but the Board would at first authorise only a lease. The planning of a new 'Native Village' was consequently delayed. From the school's point of view, a more satisfactory expansion would have been south-east of the school, but long negotiations were on the point of finality when Miss M. Jaffray died and her successor was unwilling to sell the land.

The most obvious consequence of rising costs was a steady increase in fees, on each occasion the increase being made after consultations with Hilton College, until in 1952 the fees stood at £200 *per annum* and the Rector recommended that they should be raised a further £10.

When the Board decided to raise the fees in 1942, they decided that part of the increase should be devoted to bursaries, and fifteen 'school bursaries' were soon awarded, to the total value of £610. Four years later there were 44 school bursaries and the principle of using part of the school's ordinary income for this purpose was clearly established and subsidised parents who in the depression years might have been able to afford the fees but who could not do so in a period of inflation. This initial decision was not reached without serious misgivings about the propriety of making some parents subsidise others and one of the most

generous and staunch supporters of Michaelhouse, H. J. Butcher, resigned from the Board on the principle, though his generosity continued and he was subsequently made a Trustee.

The Board's decision and a gift of £200 a year from A. S. Hersov from 1945 enabled a high proportion of parents to be helped. In 1946 when there were about 325 boys in the school, there were altogether 82 awards, including scholarships and grants for sons of clergy or of staff in 'Conference' schools. Twenty years later Kalton's survey of Independent Public Schools in England showed a situation similar to Michaelhouse's post-war policy: about a quarter of the boys received some assistance, bursaries going to roughly one-and-a-half times as many as scholarships; but in England about 4% were assisted from local authority funds. Michaelhouse policy, which was subsequently greatly strengthened by the establishment of a Trust Fund, therefore represented a generous and serious attempt to make its opportunities available to the sons of parents of moderate means and to ensure that the school should not become a place for the financially privileged alone.

The Governors were in the last resort responsible for decisions of this nature, and until after the war the Board remained substantially as it had been in the thirties. The most important exception was H. J. Butcher, whose resignation has already been noted. In 1942, however, the Rector reported that the Old Boys Association wished for a closer connection between the Board and the Old Boys. The Board deferred a decision until after the war and although there was no formal recognition of Old Boys' representation in the constitution, even when it was amended in 1946 and 1950, at the first election after the war all four vacancies were filled by Old Boys, and three more were elected in 1948. This was a marked change from the representation at the outbreak of war, when only J. J. Sisson (who resigned early in 1940) and A. T. Tatham had been Old Boys. In 1950, when three of the long-service governors resigned (Smythe, Holley and Heywood-Harris) and a fourth vacancy occurred, a nominations subcommittee was especially appointed and two of the replacements were not Old Boys. It was perhaps a deliberate recognition of the danger of inbreeding and the risk of having a preponderance of men whose personal recollections might tempt the Board to intrude on the Rector's precincts. One of the great strengths of the machinery for policy-making at Michaelhouse is that the

Board has rarely intruded thus even when important governors, like F. S. Tatham, were personally involved in the school's welfare. That the election of Old Boys did not in fact alter the principle was a tribute both to the calibre of the men elected and to the strength of the tradition.

The Board changed in other respects as a result of constitutional amendments which had the effect of making the membership more flexible. In 1945-46, the Deed of Trust was fully discussed and some changes were made which simply reflected existing practice —references to the Church of England, for instance, were altered to communicant members of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Other changes affected the membership of the Board. The clause providing for donor members was deleted—a symbol of the old personal link between some of the governors and the school. The term of office of the fifteen individual members (the Bishop was additional to these) was in future to be five years and, although retiring members were eligible for re-election, this made the Board far more flexible in its membership. These were all non-contentious issues; but on one point there was 'lengthy' discussion: whether non-Anglicans should be admitted to the Board. It was eventually agreed that two members could be non-Anglican, a small concession, but significant of the very great changes which had overtaken religious attitudes since 1900, when it was assumed that an Anglican foundation could be protected only by Anglicans on the Board and an Anglican clergyman as Rector.

The relationship between Michaelhouse and the diocese had never been as clear as the title 'Diocesan College' implied. Bishop Baines had declared that, in spite of the fact that the Rector gave an annual report for Synod, Synod had no authority to intervene in the school's affairs. The only formal link with the diocese, indeed, was the fact that the Bishop himself was *ex officio* a member of the Board and its Chairman; and, as a governor, he was simply *primus inter pares*, with no authority to enforce Church policy in general or diocesan policy in particular on his fellow-governors.

In this respect, Michaelhouse has not been different from other 'diocesan' schools in South Africa and until after the war the arrangement seems to have occasioned no serious conflicts of loyalty or embarrassment. Particularly with the sharper focus on questions of colour after the war, however, it was far more likely that contrasts between church teaching and school practice would become obtrusive.

It was probably with this in mind that, as Bishop Fisher approached retirement, the Board reconsidered the link between the diocese and the school and amended the Deed of Trust in such a way that the formality was retained but the Board was made more clearly independent. In 1950 an amendment was approved by which the Bishop ceased to be a member of the Board *ex officio*, although he might attend meetings and could be co-opted to the Board. He was, however, to be Visitor to the school: the Rector was to be responsible to him for 'chapel services, the spiritual welfare and the religious teaching of the school'; the Rector and Governors were to 'receive with serious attention any representations which the Visitor may make with a view to the efficiency of the school as a place of liberal and religious education'; and he was to be a member of any selection committee for the appointment of a Rector and his consent was necessary for such an appointment. Unless 'spiritual welfare' is widely interpreted, therefore, the Bishop *qua* Bishop (and therefore the church as an institution) cannot be held accountable for the general policy of the school, with the important exception of the appointment of the Rector.

The change was the last important contribution which Bishop Fisher made to Michaelhouse, for his health deteriorated shortly afterwards and, after over twenty years of kindly and cool leadership, which both Currey and Snell greatly valued, he retired in 1951. The new constitution was due to come into force shortly afterwards, but the Board invited Fisher's successor, Bishop Inman, to be its chairman under the amended clause. He accepted, but only after 'prolonged and careful consideration'.

What was said earlier may have suggested that the spheres of responsibility of the Board and the Rector respectively were so clearly demarcated that there was no possibility of tension in the relationship between the two authorities. This was, of course, not the case: some tension is inescapable so long as the Board has a lively interest in the welfare of the school as well as a clear responsibility for such matters of policy as expansion and finance, and so long as the Rector has a concern for future developments as well as a direct responsibility for the 'internal organisation, management and discipline' of the school. But differences of opinion could generally be resolved by one authority following—however reluctantly—the other, since matters of deep principle were not involved.

A matter of principle which aroused considerable controversy arose from the admission of a Chinese boy to the school. Snell had accepted his application in the ordinary way and admitted him in 1946 without prior consultation with the Board. As a consequence, one of the Governors resigned and the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the Old Boys' Association proposed a resolution at the Annual General Meeting of the Association condemning the admission. After considerable discussion, the motion was lost by a large majority. The Governors themselves refrained from passing a resolution on the particular case, but the Bishop was requested to inform Snell that the Board felt that the matter should have been referred to them and instructing him to refer similar cases in the future. When Snell reported a similar application the following year, the Board agreed to the admission. Currey had found senior boys in the thirties responding favourably to the possibility (which never materialised) of the sons of the Indian Agent-General attending Michaelhouse; and there were no difficulties about the acceptance of the Chinese boys now, either at Michaelhouse or when teams of which they happened to be members visited other schools.

The episode is significant as illustrating the sensitivity of an institution like Michaelhouse to prevailing opinion rather than as a challenge to customary colour policy. In the first place, the boys were not members of one of the major racial groups of South Africa—still less of Natal—and could therefore be regarded as 'special cases.' Secondly, the first admission was before the 1948 elections and there was therefore no doubt about its legality. Nevertheless, that a governor resigned, that the Old Boys' Club branch of which he was a member brought forward a condemnatory motion and that the Board instructed the Rector to refer future cases to it, all indicated that the admission of boys even on the edge of the colour line (as it was later to be defined by the Nationalist Government, with Chinese on one side and Japanese on the other), could not be taken for granted, although on this occasion Snell's decision was accepted. Indeed, the episode is also an example of the way in which the Board gave loyal support to Snell even when there were some misgivings about his method of arriving at a decision.

Michaelhouse might be sensitive to established custom, but it was not subject to official directives on admissions or educational practice. One of the matters which the Board discussed on several

occasions was whether Michaelhouse should apply to be an aided school and if so whether this would involve an intolerable restriction on the school's independence. The Board, however, consistently opposed the idea of applying for aid.

Although the Governors were determined to retain the independence of Michaelhouse from government control, it is clear that it was not part of an isolationist policy. Snell, indeed, was particularly anxious that interchanges of staff between government schools and Michaelhouse should be facilitated by, for instance, a mutual recognition of service for pension purposes. He did not succeed in his purpose but there was a significant move during this period towards greater solidarity among the independent schools, and particularly the schools associated with the Church of the Province of South Africa.

The independent schools had been loosely associated through the Conference of Headmasters and Headmistresses, which had been held for the first time in 1929. At the end of 1942, however, Currey urged the case for a unitary system which would place the ultimate financial control of Church schools under a Foundation Council and which would make members of staff servants of the Council. He argued particularly that the schools needed individually and collectively a much greater measure of financial security; and that there was a danger of inbreeding because no master could change his post without resigning. As a result of his Memorandum, the Archbishop appointed a Commission under Mr Justice Feetham. The Commission did not favour the unitary system but recommended that the six boys' schools established on a Church foundation should be associated 'for consultation and joint action on matters of common interest', and that they should form a Standing Committee and that they should report to the Archbishop annually. (The six schools were: St Andrew's, Grahamstown; St Andrew's, Bloemfontein; The Diocesan College, Cape Town; St George's, Cape Town; St John's, Johannesburg; and Michaelhouse). The Commission also recommended that there should be a common policy in respect of staff conditions of service and exchange of members of staff; that there should be satisfactory provision of bursaries and encouragement given to boys from government primary schools to enter the church schools; and that Afrikaans should be compulsory.

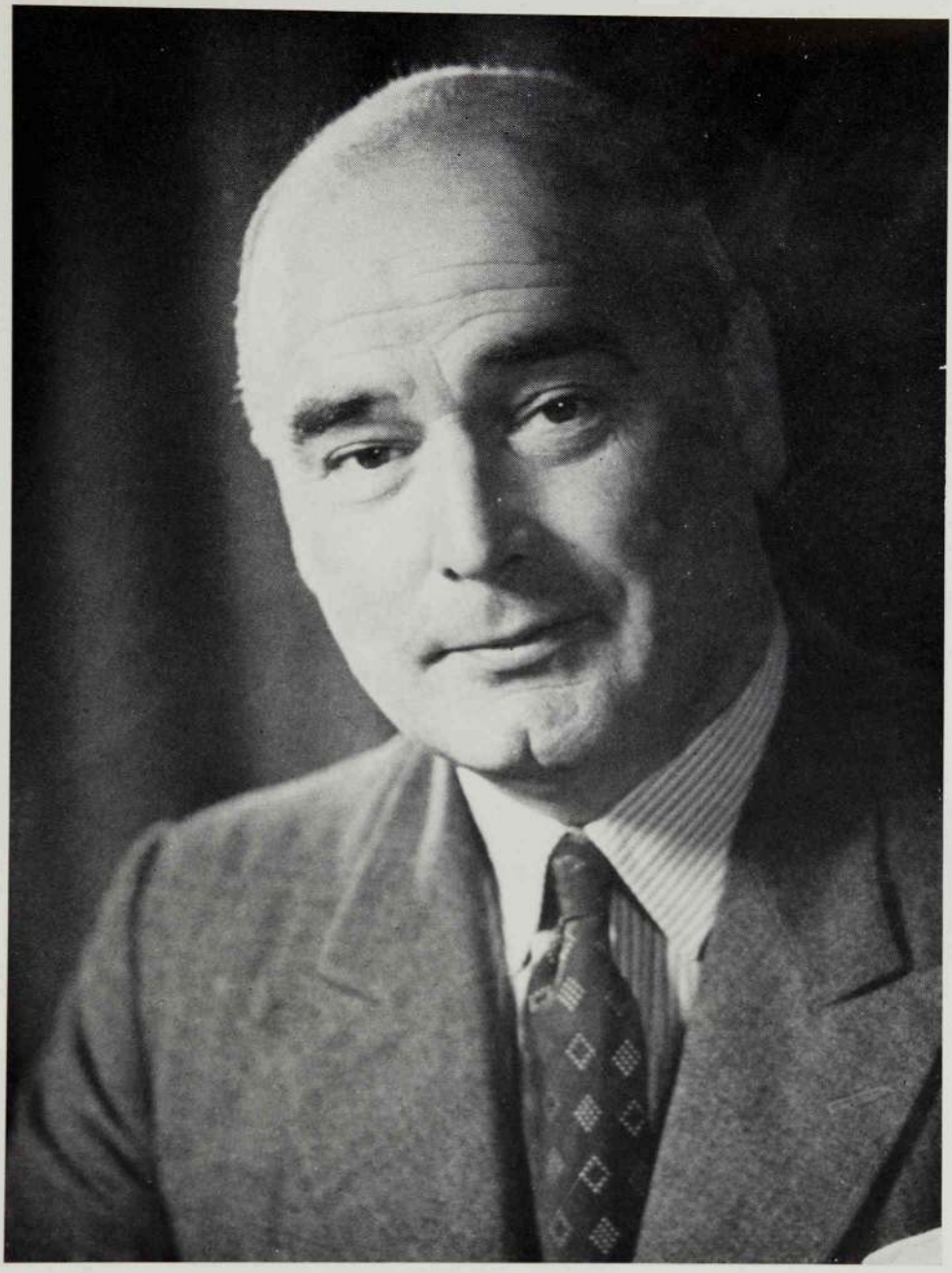
Although the schools were 'associated' and not united, the regular meetings gradually strengthened the authority of the

association, thanks particularly to the leadership and acumen of Mr Justice Feetham, the enthusiasm of Currey and the support of Snell. The Standing Committee held a watching brief for seventeen schools concerned particularly about the dangers of Christian National Education. On matters of staffing and finance —the main arguments in Currey's memorandum—the Association had not by 1952 made notable advances, but even in these matters the foundations were laid for greater co-operation, which led, among other things, to a concerted appeal for funds for science education and the development of facilities for studying conditions overseas.

National and international events alone would have made Snell's rectorship particularly significant and uncommonly eventful. The exploits of Old Boys in the war added to the school's traditions; and their return signalled a more direct participation by Old Boys in shaping the future of the school through the Board of Governors. The traditions themselves were challenged by new ideas—new ideas of commitment to society and new ideas of freedom as well as new ideas of national conformity (or perhaps one should say that the challenge came rather from a sharper focus on old ideas which made the conflicts often clearer). And the restlessness and uncertainty were reflected in the movement of the staff and the expressions of anxiety in some years about the tone of the school. But there was no uncertainty about the direction in which Snell believed that Michaelhouse should develop: for him it was first and foremost a church school, committed to Christianity, however uncomfortable the commitment might be from time to time; and the school should provide opportunities for the boys to become committed (not simply to be committed) to Christian responsibilities, intellectually, socially and morally. His pioneering spirit urged him to beware the complacency of an over-long rectorship and beckoned him to found a similar school—Peterhouse—in Rhodesia.

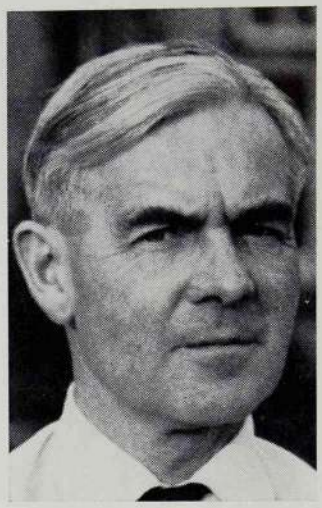
In spite of the restlessness (and sometimes because of it) and in spite of the fluctuations in the school's fortunes scholastically and on the playing fields, the overwhelming impression of the period from 1939 to 1952 is therefore one of lively, constructive growth, both independently in the sense of developing opportunities in the school and inter-dependently in the sense of a consistent leadership in matters concerning the South African society. It was a controversial period, and even Snell's nickname ('Bok'—

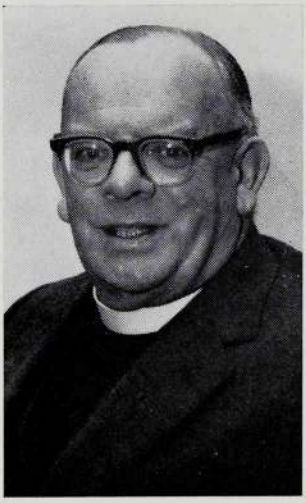
Goat), used by parents as well as boys, had a rich variety of overtones—alertness, vigour, obstinacy, cheekiness, leadership, inquisitiveness—depending on one's point of view. But the windows of the chapel, and particularly the Rose window, are a fitting symbol of his rectorship. Mrs Morgan described their symbolism thus: 'These windows are likely to startle those who anticipate conventional designs and a gentle message, for they are full of purpose and passion, at once a challenge to the wavering and a firm promise to the faithful'.

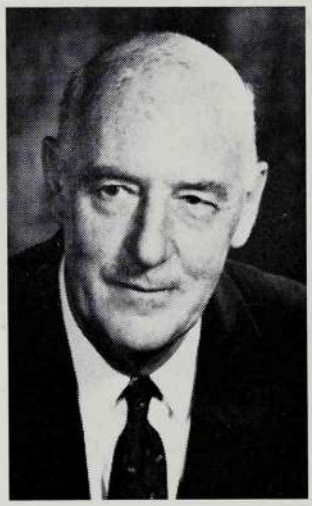


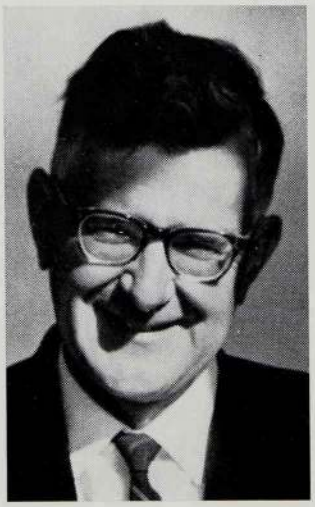
CLEMENT YORKE MORGAN
Rector 1953-1960

From the Thirties onwards









Top left: F. B. van Heijst, B.SC.(S.A.) 1931-1949, 1958-
Top right: A. R. Chapman, M.A. (CANTAB), 1936-1949, 1951-1958
Centre left: J. B. Chutter, M.A. (CANTAB), 1937-1961
Centre middle: J. L. Robinson, B.SC.(S.A.), 1936-
Centre right: Mrs. A. Robinson, B.SC. HONS.(LOND.) 1942-
Bottom left: L. C. Knight, 1947-
Bottom middle: R. L. Ibbotson, M.A. (CANTAB), 1946-
Bottom right: J. P. Lowe, B.SC. (NATAL), 1948-

CHAPTER TEN

Morgan: Cool Consolidation

SEVEN years after the defeat of the Axis powers, the immediate post-war problems of resettlement and austerity were receding and the intractable, more fundamental problems of the mid-twentieth century were becoming obtrusive. The Festival in 1951 marked Britain's emergence from stringent austerity; but devaluation in Britain and elsewhere (including South Africa) had focused attention on the problems of international trade and the balance of payments. In the same year, peaceful and deliberate steps were taken to harness the restless energy of nationalism in West Africa by the granting of new constitutions to Britain's colonies there; Libya was given her independence; and, the following year, the corrupt government of Farouk was overthrown by the Egyptian army. But the British were struggling to restore order in Malaya, the French were bitterly involved in Vietnam and Algeria was soon to become the scene of eight years' fighting and the occasion for de Gaulle's assumption of power in France. Statesmen's nerves had already been tested in the Berlin blockade and air lift and the Korean War was drawing to a close. China, however, was now clearly a power to be reckoned with, the United States exploded the first hydrogen bomb in 1952 and five years later the first sputnik was to add competition in space (and education) to the multitude of other possible sources of international conflict. In South Africa the Torch Commando drew together temporarily strong forces of criticism of the first Nationalist government and the Civil Disobedience campaign of 1952 indicated a growing articulateness among non-voters; but the government was shortly to be returned to power with an increased majority and in 1954 Strijdom succeeded Malan as Prime Minister.

By 1953, Michaelhouse, too, had begun to emerge from the most cramping effects of the war. Buildings were going up, the staff was more stable and the life of the school was vigorous and free. It was as if Snell had taken the school, up cliffs and down valleys, to the escarpment of one of his beloved mountains and the party should now take breath and re-form for its further advance. But, as in mountaineering, the 'top' in education seems ever beyond the next hill; and ever more demands were in fact being made on education in general and schools in particular. The rapid urbanisation of South Africa's major towns, the marked instability of marriages and the progressive development of the teen-age market introduced complexities and uncertainties in the traditional adult-adolescent relations. Meanwhile, in school systems, although the general aim to educate 'according to age, aptitude and ability' seemed to be universally accepted, the flexibility this demanded of school curricula was only beginning to be discerned. It was cool wisdom that the Governors sought in a leader among such problems.

From more than forty applicants, the Board chose Clement Yorke Morgan to guide the school. The son of a parson, he had, after a distinguished career at Christ's Hospital, gone with a classical scholarship to Hertford College, Oxford, and thence into schoolmastering. A short spell in Liverpool was followed by an appointment to Radley and there he filled almost every post in the hierarchy, from assistant in classics to sub-warden (senior master), the position he held from the eve of war to the time of his appointment to Michaelhouse; and he had been involved at one time or another in many of the school's sporting and other activities. At 49 he was older than any of the previous rectors on appointment and his disposition was to polish, renew, stabilise, rather than to revolutionise; to delegate and guide rather than to involve himself in the many activities of the boys. It was, indeed, especially by creating or strengthening institutions within the society of the school rather than by direct contact that his influence began to permeate the school's life.

In his first speech day address, Morgan indicated his most pressing concern: the intellectual life of the school. Coming from a school and a school system in which academic achievement was especially honoured, it was not surprising that he saw the chief aim of education as giving a sense of values and 'the power of distinguishing what is first rate from what is mediocre', a

power to be developed by training in critical thinking and by widening the boys' experience of what is best in man's culture. It involved putting additional pressure on the whole school to work with more concentration and, although the length of prep. was slightly reduced, additional class time was provided. The visible result was an improvement in the proportion gaining matriculation exemption and, although the proportion of first class passes and the proportion of outright failures did not reflect the changes, two notable distinctions went to Michaelhouse matriculants in 1954 and 1955: R. Schmidt won the Queen Victoria Memorial Prize, founded by Jewish boys and girls and awarded for the best English essay; and G. R. Ellis was awarded the prize for the best science paper in South Africa.

Like his predecessors, however, Morgan regarded the matriculation examination as an inadequate measure of the school's intellectual achievement. Indeed, he had very early been horrified to discover its power. Soon after his arrival, Snell had taken him to the berg to ensure a peaceful setting for a discussion about the school. The story goes that even on the deserted bridle paths the matriculation fetish suddenly appeared when a young man approached, full of anxiety, to ask whether the results were out yet. It was a warning—if it were needed—against relying on preparation for this examination alone to develop the power of 'clear and critical thinking'. It was rather to the development of the sixth form that he devoted his attention.

The Sixth Form had consistently offered an opportunity for 'a clear view of those woods which are often undiscovered among the tangle of trees which make up the matriculation syllabus', as a boy wrote in the *Chronicle*. But it had not yet developed the disciplined strength of an English Sixth Form and it was one of Morgan's major contributions to draw on his experience to provide that strength. The organisation of the general side of the curriculum gradually became the responsibility of one of the staff, Hugh Carey, providing courses of appreciation in the creative arts, introductory courses in law and Bantu studies, a series of talks by visitors on careers and, after the establishment of the Michaelhouse Trust, educational tours of the Witwatersrand. The specialist side was stimulated by providing a definite goal for staff and boys to work for and, since none was available in South Africa, this meant preparing for English examinations. In 1953, four boys passed College entrance examinations and the following

year the senior prefect (R. J. P. Lewis) won a sizarship to St John's, Cambridge. (A serious motorcycle accident prevented his taking up the offer.) Subsequently the pattern became established for some boys to remain in the Sixth Form for eighteen months, preparing for the G.C.E. 'A' level examinations (the requirement for entry to universities in England), and though the number was never large—usually less than half-a-dozen—their presence and the syllabuses were a disciplined stimulus to the Sixth Form as a whole.

The promise which these developments showed earned the generous support of Mr. H. Oppenheimer, who offered to contribute £4,000 to a new Sixth Form block and eventually contributed the total cost of £7,600; it was a striking change from the days when Sixth Form prefects had their prefects' 'study' and others an ordinary classroom, and the improved facilities, including a Sixth Form library, made the success of the developments more certain.

Outside the classroom, the dramatic tradition continued under the direction of R. C. Brooks, perhaps the most outstanding performance being that of S. Simkin as Richard III. In the same year, Simkin gave a 'masterly' rendering of the Sergeant of Police in *The Pirates of Penzance* and Gilbert and Sullivan became almost as regular a part of the Memorial Hall's stage as Shakespeare was of the Open Air Theatre. Not that Shakespeare was invariably chosen for the main production: in 1953 *St. Joan* was put on (and paid a visit to Westville) and, after R. C. Brooks had taken up his appointment at Cordwalles, D. Howorth introduced the school to Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*. When Howorth, too, left, J. P. Allen (an Old Boy) took up the limelight torch and presented a succession of exhilarating productions, beginning with *Henry V*. With two major productions when a Gilbert and Sullivan was staged, the house plays and a staff play (one of them produced by Mrs. Morgan), the annual involvement of the school in live theatre was remarkable and tested the stamina of the chief producer to the utmost, for he normally produced the musical (with the Director of Music) as well as the Shakespeare and often the staff play as well.

Other extra-curricular activities nevertheless continued to enjoy support, and although some fluctuated or languished—notably the Gym Club and the Geographic Society—several new societies were established and the problem of providing time

and a place for the activities became pressing. In 1957, therefore, a committee analogous to the Games Committee was established to resolve clashes, recommend general principles and provide a central fund to supplement society subscriptions where necessary. It was arranged that there should be a quiet period three times a week before supper to provide an opportunity for pursuing 'useful leisure occupations' or doing prep. in advance so that Societies could meet twice a week in the evening during prep. without offering even a lame excuse for work not done. And 'Plab' Byrne's house, Byrneside, was adapted as a centre for many of the activities.

Some of the activities were admirably practical: the Agricultural Society, which had had experimental plots for some time, planned to add pig and calf-tending to its activities; an Apiary Society established some hives (which, however, found the Balgowan area not flowing in nectar); and in 1959 a Motor Club, equipped with contributions from several Johannesburg motor-firms, began to work on any cars it was offered. A Radio Club, established in 1954, planned to build a transmitter but failed to get a licence, which required a minimum age of 18 for the operators. The Phoenix Society, begun in 1956 and restricted to sixth form mathematicians, was more successful in reaching out into space: talks on the history of maths and discussions about mathematical concepts were the background to observations of eclipses and the construction of a telescope. The more earthy Natural Historians meanwhile concerned themselves especially with aquariums; and in 1955 a small Trout Fishing Club was formed.

Among the more sedentary occupations, the Debating Society still attracted a considerable number and a Taalvereniging was formed with debates and talks as its main activities. The establishment of the Dragon Club in 1953, however, indicated that more boys were beginning to demand a consistently serious examination of topics. With R. Hennessey as the master-in-charge, a small group of boys met to hear talks or present papers on a variety of topics from the Baconian Theory or Alexander the Great to Race Relations or Atomic Energy. Its prototype was the Pioneer Club, which continued to enjoy a regular membership of twenty to thirty boys under the guidance of the chaplain and whose discussions were led by visiting preachers or masters or the Rector (who spoke on his experience with the Trappist Monks).

Feeling that their concern with religion should issue out in action, some of the members began to run a Sunday School for the Indian community on the estate.

With J. Hodgson as the Director since 1950, the role of music in the school's life had steadily become more significant. The Music Society met frequently for talks or recitals; a separate Gramophone Society was formed to control the use of the record library; and by 1956 it was possible, with the help of staff wives, to form a small orchestra which presented a concert which, in its inclusion of the Toy Symphony at least, resembled the concert of Hugh-Jones's day. After Hodgson's departure for Peterhouse, his successors did not remain long enough to establish new traditions, but a notable experiment was a joint concert with St. Anne's which included the suitably romantic Hiawatha's Wedding Feast. On the frontier between the music department and the cadet detachment a brass band developed into a military band and two years after its inception provided a musical interlude at a ceremony in Pietermaritzburg. About the same time 'The Sparkplugs', a band of five, gave pleasure to themselves and the school and recalled Gerald Pennington's jazz band of the early twenties. (Rock 'n roll had recently become the rage and the prefects' dance in 1957 was reported to have been the most enjoyable ever: no doubt the 'forest of whirling arms and legs' symbolised a welcome release from the tension created by the conflicting demands of the cross-chassee or the feather step and the attractions of a partner).

The more time-honoured outlets for adolescent energy, rugby, and cricket, retained their prominence, although cricket was considerably restricted at the beginning of 1955 and in 1956 by serious polio epidemics. The 1953 cricket team had the support of the 'impetuously brilliant' batting of C. Burger, the only Natal boy to be awarded a South African Schools Cap in 1952, but thereafter the batting was rather lean for several years and in the 1954/55 season the team suffered a crushing defeat by an innings and 31 runs at the hands of Hilton. The following year, keenness contributed to an exciting reversal, when Hilton were beaten on the double innings by four wickets, with the help of an overthrow of 2 in the last ball but one of the match. A doleful 1956/7 season was brightened by the opening of the new pavilion, subscribed by Old Boys, and the first match to use it was against an Old Boys' team which included ten former captains: with the opening bats

(H. Trotter and S. Roberts) scoring at the rate of 2 a minute, the school's defeat by 159 runs was neither altogether dishonourable nor unexpected. On the whole, the cricket of the period was undistinguished, though there were some exciting exceptions. In 1957 a grand two-day match against Hilton ended in a draw. Hilton managed only 53 in their first innings against the bowling of D. V. M. Evans and M. C. Felling to which Michaelhouse replied with 154. Hilton then made a fine 219 for 9, declared—in spite of a moment when Evans took 3 wickets in four balls—and left Michaelhouse with 105 minutes to score 119 runs. With ten minutes to go, Michaelhouse had 100 for two wickets, but three wickets fell quickly and the score reached only 104 when stumps were drawn.

Fortunes fluctuated in rugby. In the very successful 1953 season, when three were selected for Natal Schools (C. Burger, R. Wells and C. Perry), the team crashed 0-30 to St. Andrew's on a Cape tour; by contrast, in the remarkably unsuccessful 1959 season, the team stood up heroically to an unbeaten Maritzburg College side and lost only 11-10; and in 1955 and 1956, G. S. Young had the rare distinction of gaining his Natal Schools colours twice. The 1957 team, under R. W. H. Hall and then H. C. Donaldson-Selley, almost seemed to specialise in exciting matches. David-like, they stood up (10-10) to a particularly strong Old Boys team under Peter Taylor, the Old Boys getting their final points on time by the paint on the cross-bar; and a most successful tour to Grahamstown culminated in a thrilling victory (11-9) over St. Aidan's. The following year resolute forward movements and effective co-operation between D. H. Hatfield on the wing and the eighth man, M. A. Riddell, made for a free-scoring match against the Old Boys, which the school won 21-15. Tours were by now a fairly regular part of the season, to the Cape or Johannesburg particularly, but in 1959 the team visited Rhodesia and had the satisfaction of winning half their matches, including that against Peterhouse.

Hockey, though still regarded as a 'minor' sport, was already very firmly established in the sporting calendar and a tour to Rhodesia with Hilton in 1954 further boosted its reputation. Hilton was still the only Natal school that Michaelhouse was able to play, but it had its compensations, for it meant that, in playing club teams, the first team players were able to pit their resources against provincial and even Springbok opponents. Enthusiasm

was not, however, confined to the leaders, and for at least a time each house was able to produce four teams whom the house captains really coached.

From 1954 some boys began to concentrate on athletics rather than on hockey after the rugby season was over. The interest of the school as a whole in athletics continued to be focused on the end of the cricket season, but this meant that Michaelhouse entrants in a number of inter-school or inter-district events held in September were likely to be out of condition. Under the enthusiastic leadership and skilled guidance of J. B. Odams, it was now made possible for boys to train for athletics instead of hockey. This and the inauguration of a new athletics track in 1956 were both symptoms and conditions of the marked improvement in the general standard of athletics in the school. For the first time for many years, boys were entered for the Natal Junior Championships in 1955, and one of them (A. Gourley) won the 440 yds. under 19. The following year a Michaelhouse boy (Cobbett Tribe) captained the Pietermaritzburg and District team, and from the Natal Junior Championships the school's representatives returned with six titles, two boys (Angier and Glover) each winning two. Though R. Angier was an outstanding exception, the main strength of the school was in longer distances—W. Kaulback, for instance, won the Estcourt Invitation Mile twice and came within a second of the Pietermaritzburg and District record. This characteristic became so marked that in 1960, when S. Lamont Smith represented Natal in the South African Junior Championships over the mile but the school was unable to beat Hilton, the *Chronicle* comments that it had become 'standard pattern' for the school to be overshadowed in the sprints for there had been 'no sprinter worthy of the name, since R. Angier. The next year Paul Nash was among the winners in the school's under 14 events.

Among the other sports, tennis enjoyed an improved position when it was made a possible alternative to cricket in 1954 and more systematic coaching was given to those who chose tennis (a small number) and about 50 cricketers whose aspirations did not rise above the house league. Matches became a little more regular and included a few Bunnies and Colts matches against Hilton and Cordwalles. Coaching for squash was more regular, too. A combined staff and boys team joined in the Pietermaritzburg League and won it in 1958; an annual tour of Johannesburg was

inaugurated in 1957; and in 1960 Clive Macewan won the first Natal Under 19 Squash Championship. The record in swimming was less distinguished, but in 1956 the school had a rare win over Hilton and in both 1958 and 1959 the school had a representative in the Natal Schools team (Swan and Pickard respectively).

The cadet detachment meanwhile continued to develop a more diversified programme. Besides regular fieldcraft training, engineering, mortar and map-reading sections were introduced and a survey section embarked on a survey of the Balgowan area. To provide an additional encouragement to treat the training positively, the companies were reorganised and tests were introduced, which, together with the more diversified programme, contributed to an improved spirit and a higher standard even in drill. Although the shooting of at least one boy seems to have been exceptionally erratic—a bullet lodged in the chaplain's house, with the result that the range was wisely moved—the shooting team won four events in the Natal Bisley in 1958 and two boys (C. H. G. Mackenzie and J. C. W. Wright) were chosen for the Natal Command Senior Team.

The variety of extra-curricular activities could not have been offered without a staff willing to accept considerable additional duties and to become involved in the boys' interest. Since the thirties at least the depth and range of involvement had been steadily increasing. A. R. Chapman, for instance, ran the Debating Society for many years and frequently helped with both the Science Society and the Photographic Society as well as coaching in rugby; and J. L. Robinson added the newly formed 'Club' to his interests in the Science and Photographic Societies. (The Club organised social activities for Africans and Indians on the estate). Moreover, Morgan's policy of deliberately delegating authority encouraged staff—especially senior men—to shoulder greater responsibilities.

Although the appointment of the Arts and Extra-Curricular Activities Commitee and of H. Carey as Sixth Form master were important instances of this policy, the most significant development was in the house system. This involved no institutional innovation but rather a change of emphasis which made the housemasters more independent and the houses more self-contained. It was now clearly the housemaster who was responsible for the welfare of the boys in his house; and it was to the housemaster, more regularly than before, that parents turned for

information about their sons. It was partly because of the additional responsibilities of housemasters that Morgan urged the establishment of a new house, to reduce the number of boys in each house rather than to increase the size of the school; and in 1957 the appearance of 'House Notes' in the *Chronicle* underlined the change that had taken place. For many it seemed a loss that direct contact between the Rector and the bulk of the boys was reduced (emphasised by the great difficulty he had in remembering names, a handicap of which he was acutely conscious); but the decentralisation not only made the task of the Rector as pastor and manager of a community of nearly a thousand more tolerable, it was also a stimulating challenge to the housemasters. The combination of the policy of delegating responsibilities, the Rector's indifferent health latterly and the fact that, as the Bishop expressed it, he could not bear to do anyone a lasting hurt contributed to some disciplinary difficulties in 1959 and 1960, but there is no doubt that the house system could now be more effectively exploited without atomising the school.

A stable staff was a necessary condition for the delegation of responsibilities as well as for the consistent development of the scholastic and extra-curricular activities of the school. The worst staffing difficulties were over by about 1950; and, although the Rector reported in 1955 that, after three years of comparative stability, staffing was now unsettled and the instability continued the following year, the staff on the whole was greatly strengthened. Among the new appointments were about a dozen-and-a-half who were to outlast a generation of boys, including half-a-dozen who are still on the staff (1968): R. Gathorne, J. du Plessis, B. A. Law, M. E. Thompson, P. Goldie Scot, N. Bloy and R. Gillespie—Gathorne and Gillespie both being Old Boys; and in 1957 F. van Heijst, the first housemaster of Tatham's, a fine mathematics teacher and one whose generosity of spirit both Currey and Snell had appreciated, returned to the staff. It was a staff of remarkably diverse talents and opinions, in spite of the fact that the general shortage of teachers continued to make recruitment difficult, and Michaelhouse was somewhat tardy in raising salaries to compete with the Provincial schools and, especially, other private schools. Nevertheless, with about 13 boys for every teaching member of staff, the pupil/staff ratio was very favourable and Morgan had the gift of dispensing a calm dignity and of drawing on a sense of loyalty to the school which served Michaelhouse well.

There are, however, sad moments, occasions for nostalgia, even in the most stable communities. In 1958 Ken Pennington retired and so ended a formal association with the school that is unrivalled. It stretched over every rectorship from Brown's: as schoolboy, temporary master, secretary to the Board of Governors and Old Boys Club secretary, even before he became a member of the permanent staff in 1925. First housemaster of West, acting rector on numerous occasions, head of the maths department for many years and an outstanding teacher, coach of practically every sport and participant in most activities: hardly a corner of Michaelhouse life did not at some time feel the brush of his skill and breadth of knowledge. And the formality of retirement and a move from the Rondavels across the valley and over the Beacon could not end the close association of K. M. P. and Ruth with the school. The same year, Robin Chapman left with his wife for England, 23 years after his first appointment to the staff. His science teaching, his lively interest in numerous sports and societies, his personal concern for the boys and, perhaps especially, his deep and practical concern for the underprivileged, were gifts which greatly enriched the school's life.

The record for the longest continuous service on the staff, however, is held by J. G. Byrne (Plab); indeed, he could claim that since his appointment as carpentry intructor in 1921 he had not missed a single class. His practical, unruffled response to the school's needs had become almost a permanent part of Michaelhouse by the time of his death in 1958. There were two whose memories stretched even further: Tom Shange who joined the school as a boy when it moved to Balgowan and who died in 1958; and Baboo Ram, who came in Hugh-Jones's time and became overseer of the boys' dormitories before he died in the Jubilee year. Yet another pioneer in a different sense was Johannes Zama, who joined the school in 1932 as a clerk in the bursar's office and a few years later became a teacher when Zulu was introduced as a subject: he died suddenly in 1958.

The Jubilee Year, 1956, was an opportunity to look back on the growth of the school under men like these, but a sense of responsibility for developing the inheritance made the school's future an ever more insistent focus of attention. It was the original intention to celebrate the Jubilee simply and intimately at the school. It developed into an ambitious programme at the school which was to be the springboard for the Trust Appeal. Celebrations

began with a Founder's Day Service in August; and in September there was a two-day fête under the Chairmanship of J. B. Chutter. Mrs. K. M. Pennington and W. Evill organised the multitude of stalls (which included a butcher's shop in Pascoe's bathroom) and the festivities were punctuated with a grand Hilton-Michaelhouse match and a spectacular ball in two marquees in the quad, the staff making remarkably adept waiters. In Johannesburg, with Mrs. D. Susskind as chairwoman and Donald Currie as auctioneer, an auction in aid of the Diamond Jubilee Bursary Fund raised £5,000. The Trust was well launched.

The establishment of the Michaelhouse Trust was without doubt the most significant achievement of Morgan's rectorship and, like many creative ideas, was not the sudden inspiration of one brain but rather the culmination of a number of creative responses to the problems faced by the school. In the development of the idea, the Rector's role was of cardinal importance: he saw the problem clearly, he took the initiative in suggesting a partial solution and responded to more radical suggestions and his lucidity was invaluable in canvassing opinions and support. But many others helped to clarify the vision and to translate the vision into a reality.

The central problem was a long-standing one: lack of money to finance expansion and improvements. At the very beginning of Morgan's rectorship this was clear, for a house for the Rector, urgently demanded by Bushell a quarter of a century earlier, was still not built. Its erection would, besides making the Rector's life more comfortable, leave the old lodge for a ladies' wing and free accommodation for the creation of a seventh house; but only £3,500 was available. On the Board, R. Butcher proposed the establishment of a committee to make an appeal for funds, the plans were drawn up and the Rector was at last able to move in at the end of 1955. The planning of the sixth form block had meanwhile begun. Neither of these important additions became major charges on the school's resources, but the school could not plan on the basis of ad hoc generosity and there were many other pressing needs: the new house, Baines, was in temporary quarters; science accommodation was becoming inadequate; the Indian village lacked electricity; many of the Africans were still badly housed; and the school's water supply was insecure. Moreover, although a comparison with other schools showed the annual cost per boy to be less at Michaelhouse, the margin of profit was small

—and was sometimes a deficit. Fees, having been raised to £240 in 1953, were raised again to £280 in 1957 and the Board considered—and rejected—a proposal to award no new school bursaries. The school had virtually no capital resources and its income clearly would not stretch to cover further heavy redemption charges.

In 1956, therefore, Morgan had the idea that the school needed a 'really large sum', and £40,000 seemed desirable. Recognising this as a pipe-dream, he suggested £10,000 as a realistic aim and asked J. B. Chutter to make this the target of the Jubilee fund. Soon afterwards, Chutter spent a period of enforced leisure in hospital following a motor accident and turned the occasion to good account by critically examining the fund-raising scheme. He emerged from hospital convinced that, by conducting local community campaigns, a sum could be raised which would really relieve the fee-income of development costs. Morgan took up the idea and discussed the plan with the Bishop who, in turn, took it to the Board. Initial scepticism retreated before the conviction of these three men and eventually, with the expert and enthusiastic advice of a group of Johannesburg men, and particularly W. D. Wilson (an Old Boy, a member of the Board and a Director of Anglo American), the plan was re-examined and revised: a sum of £250,000 was judged to be not only needed but possible. The Diamond Jubilee appeal was to be but the first step towards raising this sum.

The Governors held lengthy discussions to refine the aims of the campaign and to determine the strategy. Following on a suggestion by the Bishop, the Board agreed to appoint the Rev. J. B. Chutter as Honorary Director and he was released from his teaching duties. The aims were more clearly defined. In particular, the fund would be for items not specifically covered by the fees and would exclude concern for the existing capital debt; it would be for post-matriculation scholarships, additional school bursaries, supplements to pensions and (the biggest single item) an annual provision for the school's development. The capital sum to provide this 'endowed' income would be raised in two stages: the Diamond Jubilee appeal followed by a series of campaigns in various centres to obtain donations—spread over a number of years if the donors desired. In 1957 the Michaelhouse Trust was formally established and the trustees were appointed. Two years later, when Chutter went on leave and F. van Heijst became Acting Director, the Trust had

been promised nearly £220,000 and had received nearly £100,000.

The success of the appeal depended especially on four people: the Director, who planned the details and spoke at all the inaugural dinners; the Rector, who accompanied him and also spoke at all the centres; the Bishop, who spoke at most of them; and W. D. Wilson, whose energy and advice and influence were a constant support. For the first three it involved a prodigious amount of travelling along the length and breadth of Africa. Chutter, accompanied as often as possible by his wife, travelled ceaselessly, visiting communities of those associated with Michaelhouse and preparing the ground for the local campaigns to be launched. The Bishop found time in a loaded episcopal programme to give not just his name but himself to the task. And the Rector, in spite of indifferent health, drove himself with dedication to help launch nearly every local campaign with his wit and clarity. It was an exhausting process, not only of appealing to the generosity of the 'Michaelhouse connexion', but also of forging unresentful links between the school and its friends, many of whose associations with the school had become weakened.

An operation such as this could not have been conducted without a close examination, not simply of the financial purpose of the Trust but of the whole nature of the school. It was from this that what came to be called the 'third aim' emerged. It was an attempt to link parents, Old Boys, well-wishers and the school itself in a recognisable Michaelhouse community, concerned especially to sustain the values represented by the fact that the school is an independent, Christian foundation. To this end, the Board established from the beginning that contributors should be taken into the confidence of the Trust; local communities were encouraged to arrange at least an occasional corporate act; and in 1958 the first of what became annual educational tours was organised for boys from the school by a group in Johannesburg. In 1964, Bill Wilson was received *ad portas* and characteristically treated the honour as symbolic of the school's thanks for its immense good fortune in the establishment of the Trust: that it was also a personal tribute did not diminish the school's sense of obligation to the prime movers behind the Trust.

W. D. Wilson was also an important initiator in another educational trust which had a wider application but from which Michaelhouse benefited greatly. The Associated Schools planned in 1957 to make a joint appeal to industry to provide a fund to

subsidise scientific equipment in the schools. Michaelhouse, after some hesitation (for they had contemplated an independent appeal as the third stage in the Trust drive), joined in. Thanks very largely to Wilson, the appeal was a success and Michaelhouse was one of the first schools to benefit from the generosity of the Industrial Fund when the new science laboratories were built.

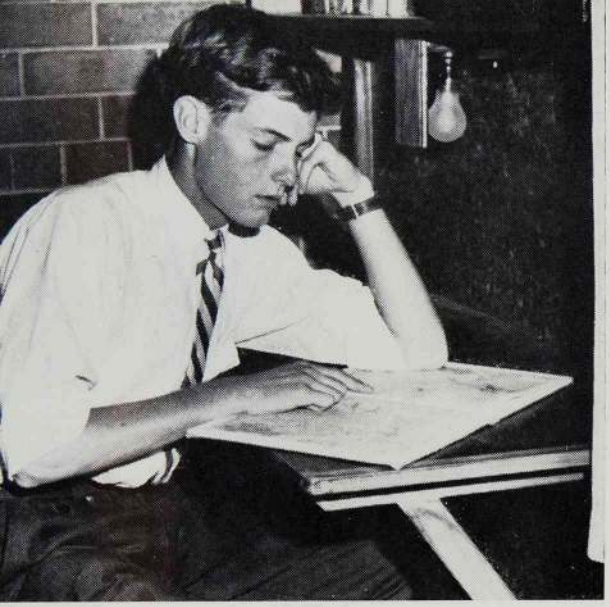
The generosity of the Industrial Fund and the presence of a substantial capital sum in the Trust did not solve the financial problems of the school; indeed, early in 1960 the Board contemplated raising the fees. But the Board was now able to plan its capital expenditure in a way which had never been possible before and by 1960 there were visible signs of this in an additional staff house completed and another one being built. More substantial signs were to follow; but in May, Clem Morgan, who had not enjoyed good health since assuming the rectorship, died suddenly of a heart attack, having only begun to see the fruits of his labours.

Apart from his work in fostering the Sixth Form, which affected the intellectual tone of the whole school, perhaps his most substantial contribution to Michaelhouse was the way in which he used his gifts to stimulate in those outside the school itself an interest in its affairs. The Trust was one most notable example of this. The development of the Sixth Form, too, had depended to some extent on his pursuing contacts with English universities so that the standard of Michaelhouse work should be appreciated there. Yet another instance was the inauguration of a 'gaudy' to which Old Boys of a particular period were invited and which provided an opportunity not only for happy reminiscences but also for demonstrating the school's continued interest in its Old Boys and, perhaps, for reviving faded interest in the school. The first of the gaudy dinners (in 1955) met unexpected difficulties when, in emphasising the festive nature of the occasion, black ties were stipulated and several of Todd's generation found their dinner jackets moth-eaten, too shapely or long-discarded; but Morgan, deeply concerned at the unintended embarrassment he had occasioned, sent a series of telegrams to rescind the dress regulations and a dozen, including Hannah, dined, wined and rejoiced with the Rector and nine members of the staff. It provided another link between members of the wider Michaelhouse community.

In appointing Clem Morgan, the Board had looked especially for a period of consolidation. His sensitivity to conflicting claims

and traditions sometimes led to the appearance of indecision, as an incident early in his rectorship indicated. The Board pressed for an edict that the boys should wear a distinctive headgear (hats having long ago ceased to be worn) and Morgan respected their earnest desires by trying to persuade the School Council of their elders' good sense but in vain. After some time, however, he urged the Board to drop the request, and they wisely accepted his advice. His gentle kindliness and a concern for individuals, moreover, often led him to agonise over decisions. His tact, however, contributed to a remarkably amicable relationship between him and the Board; his concern for traditions earned him a sympathetic respect from the Old Boys; and the clarity of his intellect won him a reputation among leaders of opinion which reflected on the school. In the school, his dignity and calm wisdom, and even his comparative aloofness, conveyed an air of peaceful stability; and he was able to inspire the senior boys who came to know him with a sense of the importance of excellence. Stability did not therefore mean an avoidance of change but an unobtrusive growth in the school's intellectual and physical resources.

Clem Morgan's remains were interred at Radley and at Michaelhouse a Memorial Fund was started with the object of redecorating the crypt to honour Clement Yorke Morgan's memory. The work took some time, and it was not until 1968 that the final touches were put to it. Gradually the crypt was transformed from a red-brick, ghostly vault into a welcoming shrine, with warm textures and glowing glass, which has real meaning in the individual and corporate worship of the school: a fitting tribute to a man whose humility and religious faith made him take especially seriously his pastoral responsibilities to his community.



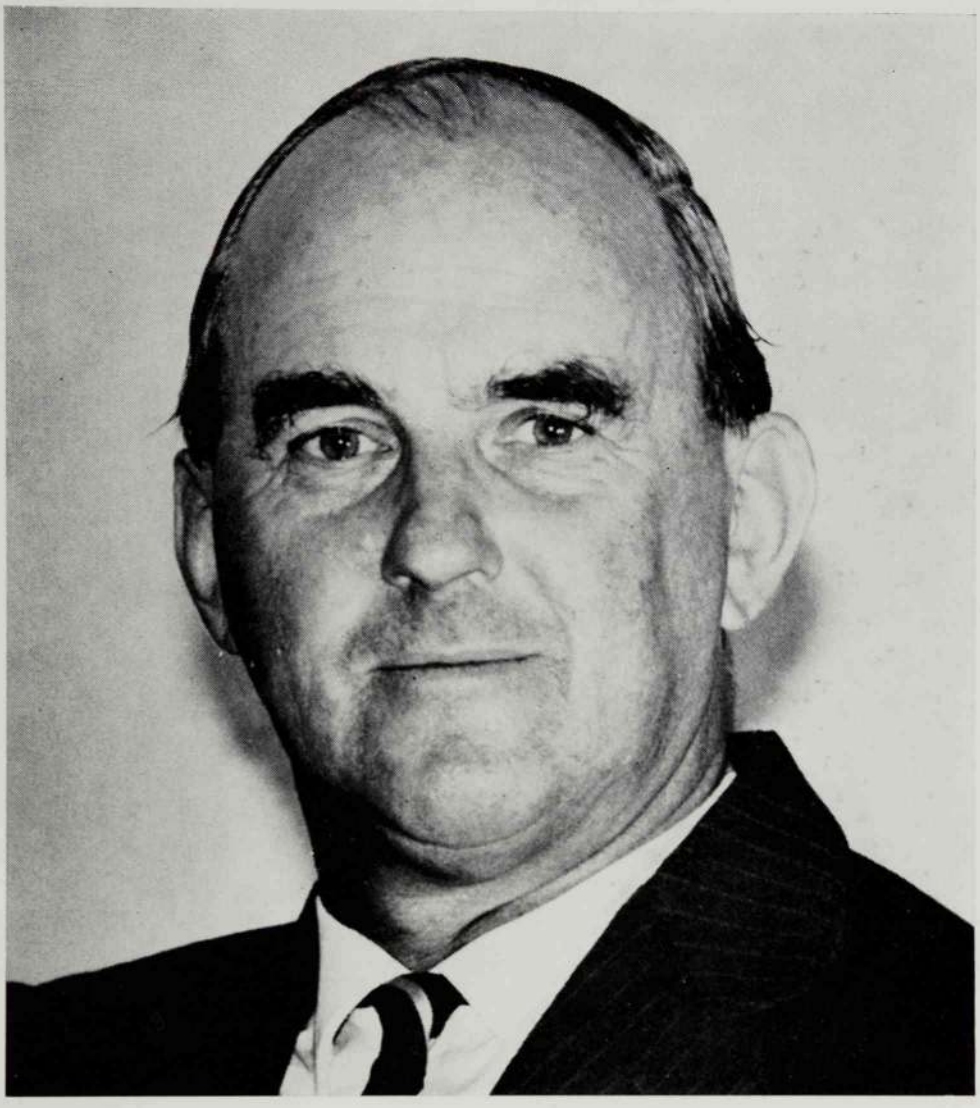
Indoors and Outdoors

Top left:
A Toyes

Bottom left:
Form IV, 1906

Top right:
The Venture Club

Bottom right:
The Sailing Club



ROBERT THOMAS STANLEY NORWOOD
Rector 1960-1968

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Norwood: Zestful Choices

THE year 1960 almost epitomised the restlessness of the second half of the twentieth century: its exuberant expansion and recurrent crises. Both the United States and Russia sent animals into space for the first time and retrieved them. Seventeen newly independent states were admitted to the United Nations and the Belgians precipitately granted independence to the Congo. John Kennedy swept into the presidency with a zest and optimism that were infectious. In South Africa the government declared a state of emergency (during which an Old Boy, Peter Brown, was among those imprisoned without trial) and the majority of the voting public declared in a referendum in favour of a republic.

When Robert Thomas Stanley Norwood was appointed Rector in September, he had already had to handle a testing crisis as acting rector, when the indiscipline on a train of a few boys from Michaelhouse and elsewhere was sufficiently serious to attract considerable press publicity. The school's action led to a court case instituted by the parent of one of the boys and two Old Boys, very properly observing legal traditions, appeared for the plaintiff against the school. Judgement, however, was given in favour of the school. Norwood's vigour and firmness in this situation were typical of his rôle at Michaelhouse during the previous eleven years.

In 1949 K. M. Pennington, as acting rector, had appointed him direct to the housemastership of East and in 1952 Snell appointed him Senior Master; but in spite of these double responsibilities he found time to invigorate almost every sphere of Michaelhouse life. He had run the cadets, and introduced greater variety, coached almost every sport and introduced softball for non-cricketers; he had taken a prominent part in staff plays and in

Gilbert and Sullivan productions; he sang in the choir and had been admitted as sub-deacon; yet he had energy to spare to lead parties of boys to Kilimanjaro and to found the Venture Club. In 1958 he had somehow managed to conduct the school as acting rector while Morgan was on leave, to climb Kilimanjaro and to take a lead in *The Gondoliers*.

Perhaps he brought with him to South Africa something of the bracing climate of the Scottish highlands. His father was head of Inverness College before taking orders and Tommy Norwood went as a scholar to Fettes in Edinburgh, where he was head boy for two years. When he came south, it was to the bracing winds of East Anglia, as a classical exhibitioner to Caius College, Cambridge; and after graduating he was appointed to Haileybury, which had a strong army connexion. The war interrupted his career and he spent two years as a p.o.w. after being captured in North Africa while serving as a major in the Royal Hampshire Regiment. He resumed his teaching at Haileybury for a brief spell and then emigrated to Kingswood, Grahamstown, in 1946. When he was appointed Rector, therefore, he had had a longer experience of teaching in South Africa than any of his predecessors; and in an editorial in the *Chronicle* he insisted that, although the school should draw on relevant overseas experience and welcomed a leavening of teachers from overseas, Michaelhouse was a South African institution, to be staffed mainly by men who were South Africans by birth or by choice.

Sixty years earlier, Balgowan had drawn Hannah and Todd, at least partly because it reminded them of Scotland, and there the first simple building had stood out on the veld, initially only partly masking a number of shanties behind it. Now there was a complex of interlocking quads and wings and the new science block had been started behind them. But the old gym remained as a miraculous testimony to the longevity of 'temporary' buildings, and not far away were African quarters long overdue for removal. Among the first major buildings made possible by income from the Trust were replacements for these relics of the heroic past. The new gym, completed in 1962, overlooked a complex of playing fields which even thirty years earlier had been a boggy vlei. Across the valley, the new African block looked down on the Sarsden road on land which the school had long hankered after for this purpose and to make its water supply more secure and which it had at last bought in 1958. Many of the Africans

preferred to retain their homes in the Impendhle location and the new block was consequently designed as single quarters. For the teaching and administrative staff, by contrast, the demand for married quarters persisted, particularly because of increased salaries, and the Trust contributed here, too. And within the school, the Trust, the Tuck Shop, legacies and donations altered the buildings to accommodate important amenities and aids to teaching: the old Chemistry laboratory became a quiet study, the Hindson language laboratory was established and Toyes were introduced and extended to all the houses. The biggest item was the provision of a new house for Baines, completed in 1965 and incorporating novel ideas in the design of the dormitories and rooms planned *ab initio* to take Toyes.

The cost of Baines necessarily precluded the building of other major items on the Board's list of priorities—notably an Assembly Hall; but others which would once have called for long debate and an earnest search for pennies were able to proceed: better drainage and boreholes for water, additional squash and tennis courts and—replacing almost the last of the shacks—a new carpentry shop were some of the 'minor' additions. A plaque formally names the carpentry shop the 'Plab Shop'. It was a title which the old one had enjoyed informally for generations of boys, to whom J. G. Byrne, the instructor, was always known as Plab. Except for the really large buildings, the programme was carried out largely by the school's works department, under R. W. Byrne (son of J. G.), whose maintenance responsibilities, of course, also increased as the buildings became more numerous. Meanwhile, the school estate, with G. W. Henderson in charge, had rough edges made smooth.

Development was made possible largely by the existence of the Trust which by the end of 1967 had contributed R173,659 to capital improvements, fee reductions and augmenting staff pensions. It would be quite wrong, however, to deduce from this that the school is, or ever has been, wealthy or could afford to be extravagant. Though proportions had changed since buying a piano caused a violent reaction, there had hardly been a time—except for the depression of the thirties—when the Board was not anxious about the school's finances; and since the war, especially, the current account seemed to defy all attempts to contain expenses. Expenses were forced out of their budgetary straitjacket partly, of course, by the rapidly rising costs; but parents were also

expecting schools of all sorts to do more for their children and educators could see more that could be done. Certainly the task of the bursar—L. C. Knight since 1953 and Hon. Secretary of the Old Boys Club since 1959—became steadily more complex; and, with a strong representation of accountants on the Board, the Board's scrutiny became closer and more professional through its Finance Committee.

Yet its careful analysis from time to time revealed no area in which substantial reductions could take place except possibly in food or in salaries. The former is always a sensitive spot in any institution. And if salaries did not at least keep pace with those of other schools Michaelhouse would run obvious risks when fewer men were entering the teaching profession at all; and if staff were reduced the school could not sustain its full curricular and extra-curricular programme. Comparison with other similar schools in South Africa seemed to confirm that, beyond careful surveillance and some minor economies, nothing much could be done except to raise fees if the school was to retain its full independence. In relation to English independent boarding schools, indeed, costs were low. In 1963, when Michaelhouse fees were raised to R660 and the ratio of boys to staff was something over 12 to 1, a careful survey was made of English public schools. The average staffing ratio in boarding schools was 11 to 1, the average fees were just over R900 (by 1966 they rose to nearly R1,000) and the average cost per boy, including capital expenditure, was just over R1,000. Nevertheless, a penetrating analysis and projection of costs by A. A. Lloyd drove home the point that all aspects of the economy of Michaelhouse continued to need long-term planning and that, if the school was to retain its full independence, the prospect of a rise in fees as regular as the rise in costs must be faced. With the passing of the National Education Act, the tempting but probably unreal alternative of accepting a government subsidy became more dangerous than ever and, after very careful consideration, the Board again rejected it.

Finance was but one aspect of the greater complexity of the institution for which the Governors were responsible: it was not only a school and a community of staff, wives and boys; it had to provide many of its own services which in a town would have been provided by public bodies or private enterprise; and it included a farm. For some time the Board had had some sub-committees and *ad hoc* committees which reflected the variety of its concerns:

but it was especially from the assumption of the chairmanship by Bishop Inman in 1951 that the organisation of the committees had been clearly defined and their number increased so that the Board could make the best use of the many talents at its disposal and offer specialised support for the Rector in his very considerable administrative task. While the Rector retained his independence in respect of the educational side of the school, the changes gradually involved the Board and its committees more closely in the material development of the school and also enabled the Board to devote more thought to planning and matters of principle. The strong leadership of the Bishop in all this was of great significance.

Meanwhile, the Board's direct links with the past were going. In 1964, F. Q. Stubbings at the age of 80 resigned from the post of Secretary, which he had held for over thirty years. A few years earlier, in 1961, the school honoured one of the most distinguished members the Board had had, when the Hon. Mr Justice R. Feetham was received *ad portas*. He had been a member of Milner's kindergarten, a noted arbitrator in international disputes in China and Ireland and a member of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court; and for Michaelhouse he had not only served on the Board for 31 years, for most of the time as vice chairman, but had also been the founder chairman of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools. His successor as vice-chairman on the Board was the first Old Boy to hold the position, G. W. Boyes.

Resting on foundations laid earlier, but also depending on the work of the Standing Committee and the co-operation of the Board, significant developments took place in the opportunities for staff to draw inspiration as well as practical hints from overseas. Under Currey the custom had developed of arranging for an occasional exchange for a year with a master in an English 'public school'. Now, with the help of the British Council and other organisations, staff were encouraged to go to Britain or America for a much shorter time especially to observe new developments without being committed to a full load of teaching. This stimulated a reassessment of the traditional syllabuses and teaching methods which had already begun.

The planning of the new science block, begun under Morgan by J. L. Robinson and his colleagues, was evidence of the quickened interest in getting boys to understand the experimental method instead of bending their energies to demonstrate, by hook or by crook, a sequence of events which they knew ought to

happen. In the planning of the block, Michaelhouse was able to draw on the experience of others and in turn became a source of advice for other schools making similar plans. The Michaelhouse science department, moreover, was prominent in organising conferences for science teachers and was the host for a conference early in 1968. Maths teachers, too, had been considering British and American experiments with new approaches to their subject and, although the Michaelhouse maths staff were not the initiators of the movement, they, under R. J. R. Gillespie and after fruitful consultation with Hilton and Kearsney, were among the first to introduce the new ideas in practice. The wheels of provincial and national syllabus committees grind slowly, and the innovations in science and maths were a vindication of the independence of the school. In maths, moreover, the traditional (represented by Mrs Robinson) and the new were able to operate challengingly side by side. Whether Michaelhouse successes in the first South African maths olympiad were a vindication of traditional methods, a reward for thorough teaching or a product of the challenging encounter of alternative views, they were noteworthy. For in 1966 two Michaelhouse boys, B. Draper and A. Graham reached the final ten in the olympiad, Draper being the only Std IX (B Block) boy to do so in the country and Graham going on to obtain the highest marks in the matric maths exam (98.25%); and in 1967, three boys gained this distinction—Draper for the second time and R. J. W. Henderson and P. W. Pritchard. Lest the humanities should seem neglected, a language laboratory was installed. With this and other equipment, not only could teaching be made more effective but even staff critical of gadgetry would be challenged to a fresh examination of traditional methods.

In the general pattern of the school's curriculum refinements were introduced and one major change. At the top of the school, new call-up regulations caused considerable anxiety about the position of the sixth form, but the authorities looked with favour on representations from the private schools and the sixth form was reprieved. Developing from the infusion of life in the fifties, its curriculum became more rigorous under the leadership of B. A. Law and its organisation became more economical when, in 1965, a different examining board was chosen so that boys preparing for 'A' levels could write in November. Two years earlier J. J. Bates had the distinction of gaining an A symbol in 'A' level

Latin, which indicated that the standard could match English expectations although the normal English pattern is to spend two years on 'A' level work. Lower down, an attempt to provide an alternative to the conventional matriculation exam by entering some boys for the National Senior Certificate came to grief. But the major change was the introduction of an E block in 1967. For several years Std VI had been incorporated in government secondary schools; several private schools, including Hilton, had traditionally provided for a small Std VI group; and by the sixties, all provided a Std VI. Morgan had considered making a change and had rejected it. An E block would present some new problems to staff but it would also offer an opportunity to plan a more flexible curriculum over five years and, especially, a satisfactory science course which would at the same time meet matric requirements. To introduce it might affect preparatory schools but, if it were not, parents of boys at government primary schools who considered Michaelhouse at all might balk at the prospect of changing schools twice. Eventually it was resolved to make the change and to integrate the younger boys fully into the school from the start by placing them directly into their houses, rather than to have a separate junior house.

By 1968 the choice facing a new boy in extra-curricular activities was bewildering; and even in sport, where the responsibility of choosing was left for those of riper years, the notion of a straight equation, summer times cricket plus winter times rugby equals manliness, was now overtly recognised as inadequate.

By 1960 it was already possible for some boys to opt out of cricket and the first half of the decade was a golden age for athletics. In 1961 every record in the under 14 events in the school sports was beaten or equalled, P. Nash taking four of them (the 100 in 11.6 secs and the 220 in 25.8). In following years, records tumbled in the successive age groups to Nash and in 1964 he equalled the South African under 17 record of 9.9 secs in the 100 yds heats of the Junior Championships and won the final in 10 secs—a time which to the *Chronicle* observer seemed to be his barrier unless he improved the technique of his start. But there were others who shone, not quite so illustriously but nevertheless brightly. In 1962 there were three boys from Michaelhouse in the Natal Junior team (A. Rose, R. Lyon and P. Thorrington-Smith), four the following year (Lyon, Thorrington-Smith, Nash and A. Macdonald) and five the next (Nash, Macdonald, J. Downes,

J. Price and S. T. Norwood). To stimulate competition, more matches were arranged, including a tour to Kingswood in Grahamstown, and some boys were taken to join in Durban and Pietermaritzburg club meetings. The greatest stimulation, however, probably came from the courage and enthusiasm of the master in charge, J. Odams, who, assisted by F. V. Brooker, coached and organised from his wheel chair until the effects of polio eventually forced him to retire in 1965.

The standard—and standing—of hockey had enjoyed a much more regular development and in 1961 it was recognised as a possible alternative to rugby. The following year, P. Taylor was selected to play for the South African Schools' XI and in 1963 (when 50 elected for hockey instead of rugby) six of the Natal Schools' team were from Michaelhouse, one of them (van der Veen) winning a South African Schools cap in both 1963 and 1964. Most of the matches continued to be against club and university sides and in 1967, on a tour to Grahamstown, the team was proud to go down only 0-4 to Rhodes, the winners of the inter-varsity contest.

A considerable number selected tennis as their organised game but, as in squash, matches against other schools and clubs played a much less important rôle than in the team games and the sheer pleasure of the games was the chief attraction. Coaching in swimming became more effective, although for most boys swimming remained, as it had nearly always been, the most unsophisticated of the organised sports, handicapped competitively by the somewhat antiquated bath (well designed to test wave action but not much else) but welcomed as a cooling diversion from more earnest pursuits.

Rugby and cricket, however, continued to hold their own, not only as the sports which the majority played (they each fielded between seven and ten or a dozen teams regularly) but also as the sports on which boys (and Old Boys) focused their patriotic fervour, however 'equal' the award of full colours purported to make the upstarts. With so many other activities, they could hardly become semi-professional engagements with inordinately long practice sessions even if this had been desired, and, although patriotism was sometimes sorely tested, amateur enthusiasm provided even arm-chair patriots with unexpected pleasures.

In 1963, for instance, a poor statistical record for the first fifteen was enlivened by some exciting matches, notably a match against

D.H.S., won 14-13 in the last second of the game by R. Lyon with a grand drop from the 10 yard line—the final whistle blew as the ball sailed between the posts. Lyon's boot was invaluable: in a match against Maritzburg College he kicked a place from 67 paces, as an incredulous spectator measured it; and he kicked 92 points in one season. Although the 1962 team lost more matches than it won, it rose to the challenge of the final encounter of the season by convincingly beating Hilton. Indeed, to predict the winner of the Hilton match continued to be as chancy as a bet on the 'July': in 1965, a good team under S. T. Norwood, which had the rare distinction (for any team) of beating Maritzburg College, went down 3-20 to Hilton and then at the end of the season won a swinging, open game 14-13. (The latter occasion had an auspicious prelude, for the school was given a traditional half-holiday in honour of (or as recompense for) an overnight snow-fall.) Their successors, under D. F. Oscroft and with two particularly effective threequarters in R. R. Collins and S. J. Francis, had an equally successful season and happily won both matches against Hilton. That year and on some other occasions, the Rector somehow found time to help coach the threequarters, the main task, however, being undertaken by A. Cotton, himself a 'hard-working' captain of the 1952 team.

The first cricket team was also, throughout this period, in the hands of an Old Boy, R. Gathorne (who became Senior Master in 1964). The sixties opened with a disappointing season, marked, however, by a record bowling achievement by R. Acutt when he took 8 St Charles wickets for 8 runs. Quite the most outstanding season for many years was in 1961-62, with R. Nicholson and then his brother, C. Nicholson, as captains. The bowling was accurate and sometimes devastating—in the February match against Hilton, Hilton were 21 for 4 and in the next twenty-five minutes were skittled for 37, M. Smithyman taking seven of the wickets. The fielding was sound. And the batting was steady down to number 11 and often threatened records—R. Nicholson beat Alan Melville's highest score on the Oval with 142 against Glenwood but did not quite reach W. Parry's 149, scored the same year as Melville's (1928); and T. Woods and R. Scott-Barnes, with an opening 82, initiated a scintilating 161 for one in ninety minutes against Maritzburg College. Four of the team won Natal Schools caps (R. M. Nicholson, R. S. M. Melville, T. P. Woods and M. J. Smithyman), Nicholson captained Natal Schools and

South African Schools and Melville also won his South African Schools cap. (Smithyman played for S.A. Schools in the next two years.) Even the statistics obligingly reflected the strength of the team as a whole, for they showed only two matches lost, one against Crockett's XI (for whom Maclean scored a century) and the other against D.H.S., and only three out of 24 were drawn. In the following season, the record was in one respect even better, for the team lost no matches. In 1963, the Old Boys match was quite remarkable: Michaelhouse declared with four wickets down after scoring a confident 277. Their seniors then made exactly that score before losing their final wicket on the last ball of the day, so that the match ended in a tie. Two boys achieved the rare feat of reaching a thousand runs—D. Dyer in a calendar year (1964) and R. Collins scoring 1061 in eighteen innings in the 1966-67 season; and Collins captained the South African Schools side which toured England with great success under Roy Gathorne as manager. The first eleven had clearly not suffered from cricket's having to compete with other sports. And boys for whom cricket's pleasures were too sophisticated were saved from the dragging ennui of standing uncomprehendingly in the summer sun.

Among non-athletic pursuits, discussion groups continued to proliferate. The Debating Society was challenged by the Philoneikia—a group run on parliamentary lines, complete with political parties advocating set policies and occasionally inviting their national counterparts to address them. The interests of the African Affairs Society or their occasional guest speakers ranged from Algeria to Zulu customs; The Forum, for B and C blocks, became the market place for ideas on the Berlin crisis and Bantustans, the System of Law and the South African Police; the Pioneers discussed worship or science and religion; and the Dragon Club managed to swallow both Hamlet and Hitler as well as Kenya and the study of personality.

Protagonists of C. P. Snow could bridge the gap between the two cultures by belonging to the Play reading Group or the Film Society as well as the reconstituted Science Society. The latter busied itself with crystal growing and then embarked on rocket experiments which were frustrated in the end by a failure to obtain governmental authority for the necessary fuel. Historians prepared papers or heard authorities on the Reform Act and Buller. Natural Historians, besides having talks or seeing films,

usefully cleared the Founder's Memorial pond of thirty years mud, constructed—perhaps less usefully—a snake pit and established a pair of blesbok on Annandale.

For those with a creative urge, the short-lived Pen Club provided an opening and its more dramatically named successor, Vortex, attracted ten or a dozen who were prepared not only to write but to be criticised. Meanwhile *Beacon*, begun some years earlier as a forum for school opinion, extended its circulation and attracted the support of schools throughout South Africa and in Rhodesia. Strongly mechanical urges could be satisfied in the intricacies of the Radio or Modelling Clubs, or the complexities of the Art School Press with its Heidelberg Platen, Golding Jobber and other wonderfully named equipment. To the traditional hobbies—stamps, chess, photography—bridge was added through the kindness of staff wives. But the most popular novelty—begun in the late fifties—was yachting on Beaconsvlei (Cliftis) dam, whose owners generously allowed a fleet of Cadets, Andies and Dabchicks to be established there.

The cadet detachment was the one extra-curricular organisation which continued to claim all except those in their first few months of school, and even it provided some choice. Adair's offspring, the Bugle Band, was joined by lusty cousins when, in 1962, the Military Band was rejuvenated and a Pipe Band was established. Parade drill was varied from time to time by the provision of First Aid instruction or an Assault Course; and a Commando Platoon had a vigorous but intermittent life. Preparations for the annual field day had already become an integral part of the training and the field days themselves were often elaborate affairs, the O.C. (P. J. Goldie-Scot) even managing to lay on aircraft to drop flour bombs on unwary rookies.

Several small groups were interested in listening to or making music of one sort or another and the original Balgowan settlers might have had a touch of nostalgia to hear the pipes. More seriously, in 1963, Barry Smith, the school's Director of Music, evoked the aid of St Anne's and celebrated soloists to present *Elijah* in the Pietermaritzburg City Hall. It was an outstanding success which enthralled even the most fastidious critics and it was followed, in 1964, with Haydn's *Creation*. Although more schools were now presenting their own annual play, the major Michaelhouse dramatic production continued to attract considerable support from outsiders. In 1962, the producer (P. Allen)

challenged them and the Fates to look sympathetically on a production of *Hamlet* at night in the Open Air Theatre and, with R. Lyon and N. Matthews alternately as Hamlet and A. Tonkyn as Ophelia, won an enthusiastic response. The following year Lyon played Othello, with N. Matthews as Iago and, as the *Chronicle* proudly noted, the cast included six of the first XV. In 1965, tradition was modified when St Anne's girls joined the production of *Romeo and Juliet*; and in the following year the first major modern play was presented when N. Axelson played Henry II and A. Kee, Becket, in the play of that name, produced by W. A. van der Walt.

But perhaps the most characteristic extra-curricular development of the sixties was the establishment of the Venture Club. From the beginning, the institution of free bounds had no doubt had the double purpose of providing the school precincts with moments of peace and giving boys an opportunity to exercise their initiative along the hills and streams of the neighbourhood. Snell and some other masters had from time to time taken small groups of boys climbing in the Drakensberg; and Norwood had himself led parties up Kilimanjaro. But, although free bounds offered opportunities, it did not demand an active response and the number of boys involved in expeditions was small. Meanwhile, in Britain, the ideas of Kurt Hahn at Gordonstoun had led to the establishment of 'Outward Bound' schools, demanding fitness, intensive training and a demonstration of initiative and responsibility in answer to nature's challenges; and the Duke of Edinburgh's award stimulated schools to encourage pupils to undertake planned and challenging adventures. Reflecting these ideas, Norwood founded the Venture Club in 1960 to encourage boys to enjoy the countryside and to use their initiative. Open to the whole school, the Club organised expeditions up Giant's Castle and elsewhere and camping became a regular feature of the Club's activities. Clearly the spirit of adventure was not as dead as critics of modern youth often supposed, for the lists were quickly oversubscribed and it was found impossible to keep up with the demand. From 1963 a Venture Club tie was awarded to boys who had been on five week-end outings, one of them led by the applicant (a task which demanded keeping a record). Holiday expeditions ventured further afield—to East Africa and Mount Mlanje (in Nyasaland) and, in 1967, to the Fish River Canyon in South West Africa. For the last, a Land Rover took eight boys and a master (C. H. D.

Leggatt) somewhat hesitantly to the canyon and the party proceeded to explore its base for six days on foot.

There were 43 clubs and societies in 1963—a remarkable peak. At that time, of the public boarding schools in England and Wales, only a fifth had over 35 non-athletic clubs and societies and about 30% had between 25 and 34. Perhaps some of them reflected the passing idiosyncrasies of a master or a small group of boys; but they were also an earnest of the school's intention to cultivate, in the classroom and out, individual interests and aptitudes. It does not follow that, in doing this, a school also cultivates individualist or even independent attitudes; indeed an observer who was acting chaplain for a time was shocked at first to find that the boys tended to have the same ideas about everything. In an essentially conservative and rather fearful society, with an age-group that is rarely nonconformist except in response to their peers' expectations and among boys who (except perhaps for the most senior) are still groping for the security of conviction, it would be surprising to find a majority of rugged individualists. Yet, the more radical they are, the more these spirits probably need to test their opinions with others who accept them, not necessarily as right but as expressions of honest views. The sympathetically critical observer found some boys who responded to this sort of acceptance. The presence of a large number of activities cannot ensure this attitude among boys, but it may at least enlarge the area of tolerated differences in taste.

So far as a school can encourage independence by its organisation, indeed, Michaelhouse has increasingly proceeded to do so. To allow boys to choose tennis rather than cricket is, perhaps, a small concession; to hazard rugby in a South African boarding school shows a bolder faith in the importance of boys' practising to choose. Responsible choice of a different sort was tested when the B block examinations were conducted without an invigilator: faith in the boys' integrity was vindicated but the boys themselves requested the reintroduction of supervisors to ensure that overt expressions of boredom or restlessness were curbed. An experiment which was a success without qualification was the introduction of Toyes. A cross between a confessional and a hairdresser's cubicle, Toyes had been recommended as a desirable amenity by Snell and although it was not till 1962 that the first set was created as an experiment in Tatham's, it was appropriately a Winchester term (used since about 1860) that was adopted.

(The Winchester spelling is without an e, which makes its derivation from toy, a trinket, ironically clear.) Within a few years, with the help of generous donations, nearly all boys in the senior school had a curtained retreat from the crowd in which they could display a modicum of individuality and in which they were trusted to get on with their work during prep. The Toyes are, moreover, a reminder of the value of remaining responsive to overseas traditions which can enrich and enliven South African practice.

When W. D. Wilson was admitted *ad portas* he recommended that among the overseas practices which South African schools might emulate were the American Peace Corps or the British Voluntary Service schemes, young school-leavers getting to know their near or distant neighbours by working constructively among them. The ambitious challenge was not then accepted, perhaps partly because help across racial lines (as this would entail) is often treated with excessive caution or suspicion by South Africans in general and schools in particular. A small number of boys at the school, however, offered service to some of their close neighbours on the estate or in the district. For a number of years boys had helped with a Sunday School for Indians on the estate. More recently a 'Thursday Club', including wives of staff as well as boys and staff had begun to run activities varying from sewing classes to soccer matches and a few helped to distribute Kupugani food to the needy of the district, or to do some teaching. The activities have usually, however, had to depend on the enthusiasm of a few boys and staff. (In England, the Duke of Edinburgh's award scheme, which includes social service as well as adventure, has quickened social consciences in large numbers of schools.)

Though the ideas of the Peace Corps might be daunting, the school participated in another movement designed to promote international understanding. The American Field Service movement had begun after the First World War to arrange for young people to live in American homes long enough to feel real participants in the country and after the Second World War its scope was considerably widened. The association of South Africa with the scheme arose out of preliminary work by Mick Pennington, who, before his death, had established contacts and organised exchanges between St John's and boys from America. It was very fitting, therefore, that Michaelhouse boys felt stimulated to raise funds so that the school could be host to an A.F.S. scholar from

America, the first of whom (Jeff Andrus) accommodated himself sufficiently to the South African way of life to earn selection for the second fifteen. A few years earlier, W. Cairns was the first Michaelhouse boy to be plunged into American family life under the A.F.S. scheme. Others have followed in these boys' footsteps.

One of the characteristics of a school which an outsider is bound to notice is the tone of the relationship between the staff and the boys. No doubt there are important differences between Michaelhouse practice and what is supposed (often exaggeratedly) to be the traditional free-and-easy American pattern; perhaps, too, there are some differences from recent practice in many of the best English schools, where senior boys at least are treated much as young adults and the relation between them and the staff is a subtle mixture of respect for professional skill and mutual acceptance of each other as people rather than pupils or masters. Yet from the earliest days, the *Chronicle* claimed that Michaelhouse boys 'did not regard the masters as enemies' and from the time that Morgan introduced the practice of a head boy's speech on Speech Day, the speech usually contained a reference to the 'close bond', the 'easy friendliness', between staff and boys. In a boarding school there are probably more opportunities for this attitude to develop, since contact between staff and boys is so constant and often intimate; but the contacts may be used to emphasise the boys' tutelage instead of their developing adulthood. In the early part of the century, reliance on the 'authority' of the schoolmaster was thought to be—and, in the prevailing attitude to schooling, perhaps was—the only way to maintain an orderliness in a school. By 1960 this tradition had been very considerably modified in most schools; but when Ralfe, head prefect in 1962, referred to the absence of 'studied, formal correctness', there can be little doubt that he was pointing to a significant characteristic of the Michaelhouse community of the sixties: the hierarchical nature of the community was certainly much less marked than it had once been and was perhaps less rigid than in many other South African schools. It was not, of course, a sudden development —the personalities and policies of Norwood's predecessors had contributed in different ways to it—but the friendliness of the Rector and Mrs Norwood, the absence of ceremony in their relation to staff and boys and the no-nonsense frankness of rectorial pronouncements contributed significantly to the spirit of the community throughout the estate. The sense of security was

reflected in the stability of the staff. By 1968, ten had been on the staff at least ten years and seven of the staff were Old Boys.

It is very much more difficult to generalise confidently about the religious development of the school: whereas inter-personal relations are substantially under the control of the institution itself, religious—or spiritual—attitudes are deeply affected by attitudes at home, in the parishes and in society at large; and, moreover, spiritual attitudes involve the whole of an individual's personality —his conviction and sense of purpose, his sincerity and intellectual honesty, his inner faith and outward confession of that faith. No doubt it remained true that, as one comment put it, 'Christianity seemed foreign to the lives of many boys,' but there were notable episodes and significant developments in the religious education provided by the school.

There had for some time been a tradition of inviting men to visit the school for a few days and three in particular made a notable impression. The lay evangelism of Michael Cassidy, an Old Boy, impressed itself on the school in 1962 (when the head boy mentioned him in his speech in the same breath as Viscount Montgomery, another visitor that year) and again in 1968. In 1964, a member of the Society of St Francis (Father Peter) spent ten days at the school talking to small and large groups; and two years later, the Rev. Brian Horne spent six months, first relieving and then assisting the chaplain. By probing, provoking, encouraging or simply instructing, these and other men helped the school to look more critically at its religious life and supplemented the very considerable work of the chaplain. The chaplain himself— M. Sargent until the end of 1967—used the new liturgical movement to involve the boys more fully in the chapel services. Moreover, guided by Norwood and the Chaplain, the crypt gradually became not only a more attractive place of worship but a lively centre for voluntary services and private prayer, the most notable development being a weekly evening meeting regularly filling the crypt with informally dressed or pyjamaed boys.

When Norwood described the aim of the school to produce boys who were 'robust physically, mentally, morally and spiritually', he acknowledged that, although the last was the most important it was at the same time the most difficult to develop. There could be no doubt, however, about the robust leadership given to Michaelhouse life as a whole. Perhaps the high value which Norwood placed on vigour—intellectual as well as physical—

was an important determinant in his unexpected decision to resign. The Board's request to him to reconsider his resignation reflected both the general confidence that, even after eight years, the leadership retained its vigour; but the resignation indicated the exacting standards by which Norwood judged his own contribution. Many of the changes in the classroom and outside it were developments of previous trends and none could have been made without the help and co-operation of the staff, but to the established mixture was added a tangy flavour which Norwood himself stirred in. The tang sometimes surprised those who expected a blander sauce, and perhaps occasionally the delicate flavour of part of the mixture became temporarily overlaid; but it imparted an unmistakable zest. Moreover, his decisiveness and his faith in the value of the Arnold tradition, brought up to date and modified for South Africa, were especially important at a time when the liberal education, of which the original Michaelhouse Trust Deed spoke, faced a double challenge. There was a minority who found no abiding values in conventional morality and an entrenched authority which seemed, through the National Advisory Education Council and its National Education Act, not only to equate liberal with libertarian but also to assume that education ought to be indoctrination of a particular sort.

In the thirty years since Munich, the school had passed through the turmoils of war and the frustrations of its aftermath, through the exciting challenges and smothering conformities of the fifties and sixties. It had met financial difficulties and moral uncertainties. It had welcomed new educational ideas and re-examined old traditions. The complex of buildings to educate a third more boys completed the second—Currey—courtyard, extended over what had long before been a rifle range, rolled upwards over wood and iron that had withstood the elements and generations of boys since the Anglo-Boer War and rose on the site of the home of the first Old Boy to be a member of the teaching staff. Above all, the school's life had been enthused, refined and invigorated by the personalities of the staff, and particularly the rectors, who had guided its development with faith and, often, with great courage.

One of the matriculants in the months of the 'phony war' of late 1939 was Rex Frampton Pennington, grandson of Archdeacon Pennington, son of K. M. Pennington. Thirty years later, after service in the Carbineers, education at Rhodes and at Oxford and a teaching career in the United States and at Bishop's, he

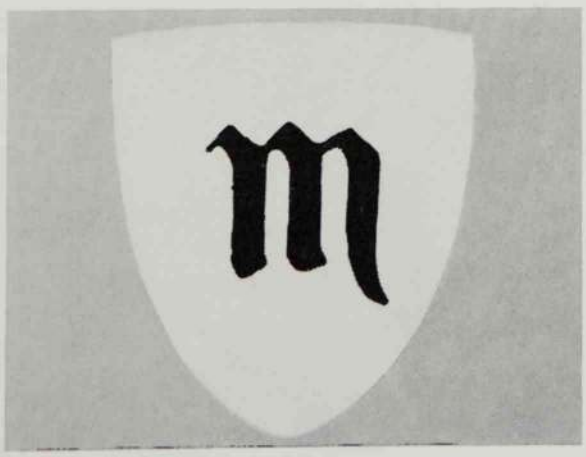
takes up the task begun by Todd, continually changing in its demands but ever the same in its purpose, to educate young people for Christian service to their country.

School Badges

HONOURS

SCHOOL BADGE
(Introduced by Snell)

HOUSE BADGE (East)
(Introduced by Bushell)



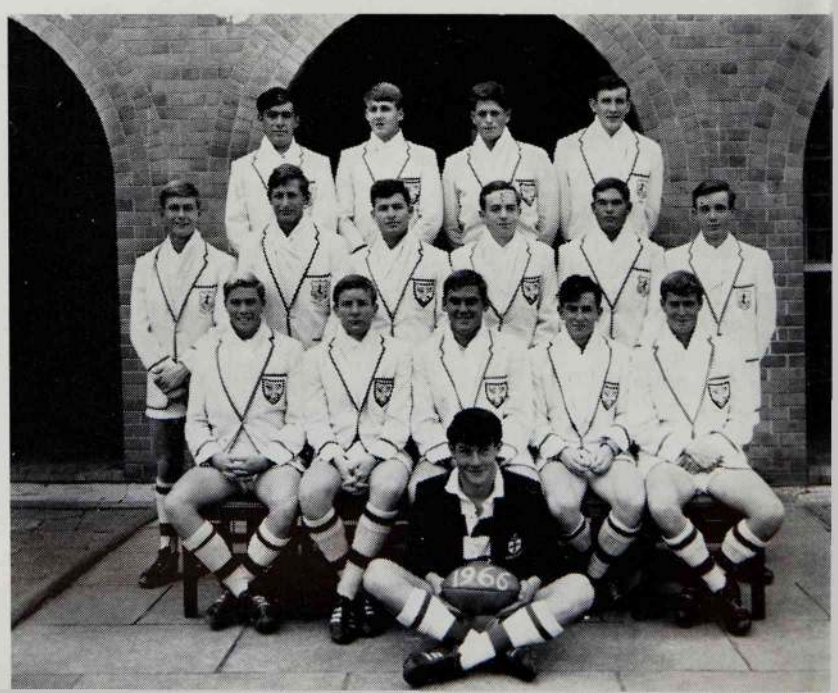
ORIGINAL RUGBY BADGE

SCHOOL PREFECTS' BADGE

Teams

Cricket 1928-29: including three future Springboks, A. Melville (*seated centre*); R. L. Harvey (*seated 4th from left*); L. W. Payn (*ground left*)

Rugby 1897: including J. C. Todd, J. C. A. Rigby and H. C. Dobrée (*seated centre*)



Rugby 1966

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Old Boys

UNDER Snell's successor, C. Morgan, the Michaelhouse Trust was established, chiefly to provide an endowment for the school, but also to link the members of the 'Michaelhouse community': the school (including boys, staff and governors); the parents; and the Old Boys. This chronicle has so far been concerned with the development of the school but, as the reference to the changing composition of the Board will have suggested, the Old Boys' Club had become a significant institution. Moreover, in spite of Dewey, school is commonly thought of as 'a preparation for life' and ready-made judgments about a particular school are meted out according to the careers of its Old Boys (and its examination and sporting achievements). This chapter will therefore be concerned with Old Boys as an institution and with Old Boys as individuals.

THE OLD BOYS' CLUB

As with the school, so with the Old Boys' Club, Todd was the initiator. At the customary Michaelhouse gathering in Pietermaritzburg in 1900, just four years after the school's foundation, the Rector urged that it was time to form an Old Boys' Association. Three years later, on 1st June (it was Whit-Monday) a formal meeting was held and accepted Todd's motion that a Club be formed. No doubt the meeting had been called because Todd was determined to have the Club launched before his departure, but the business of piloting it initially fell to Clifford E. R. Button, who had replied to Todd's after-dinner speech three years earlier and was now rewarded by being elected the first Chairman of the Club. Indeed, Button, though hardly out of school, had a double task, for, although a Secretary had been

appointed (A. R. C. Cooper), the latter seems to have dropped out and at the meeting a year later Button appears as Secretary, the Rector (as President) taking the chair.

The 1903 meeting laid down the conditions of membership in general terms and on Ascension Eve the following year the rules were formally adopted, which remained substantially the provisions for the Club thereafter. Membership was open to those who had been at the school for at least two years, members of the staff might be invited to be members, and the subscription was to be 7/6 a year or 5 gns for life. (The life subscription was changed at the beginning of Brown's rectorship to 30/-, raised soon after the first World War to 3 gns and returned to the original figure only in 1948.) The purposes of the Club were declared to be to promote friendly intercourse among Old Boys, to organise them for sport, to help Old Boys in pecuniary distress and to further the interests of Michaelhouse. (The provision of pecuniary help was deleted in 1905—perhaps because it was an unrealistic aim in the circumstances—but was re-instated in 1920.) The one regulation which occasioned frequent discussion concerned the Club colours. In the first few years there were three suggestions: a blue ribbon with white scales, a blue ribbon with red scales on a white shield and the school colours with a band of white in the centre of the red. In the twenties, when the Club was re-invigorated, the topic was revived and it was established in 1924 that the colours would 'remain' as a dark blue blazer with a silver crest and blue tie with the school colours in narrow bands. Five years later, however, the blue blazer was too dull for some Old Boys and, after a special meeting lasting two hours, a striped blazer (similar to the tie) was permitted as an alternative; but the alternative lasted only ten years and, except for providing a silk crest instead of a wire one, the 1924 decision was able to gain the sanctity of tradition.

So long as there was no permanent secretary, the promotion of the Club depended very much on the enthusiasm of a few Old Boys and, particularly, the Rector; yet membership was soon over a hundred. Until the war intervened, a surprisingly high proportion managed to gather for 'friendly intercourse'. The first annual dinner was held under Hugh-Jones at the Natal Creamery in Pietermaritzburg with twenty present and at Michaelmas there was a reunion at the school, the Old Boys being housed in a classroom and ladies joining them by train for a dance. The importance of the Rector's initiative for these meetings is emphasised by the

fact that in 1910, when Hugh-Jones was seriously ill and then resigned, there was no meeting at all; but Brown resumed the practice of inviting the Old Boys to the school and it became customary to meet on Ascension Day or Empire Day. Meanwhile, there was an occasional dinner in London—the first in 1904 and attended by Todd and Hannah; and the first branch of the Club was established after a reunion dinner in Durban in 1912.

War, however, made meetings impossible and afterwards the meetings, whether at school or in Pietermaritzburg, were poorly attended and it was not until 1924, the year in which the War Memorial was dedicated, that the Club began to revive and thirty attended on Ascension Day.

This was an important year for the Club for two reasons. At the first meeting of the year, K. M. Pennington was elected Honorary Secretary; and at the Ascension meeting Pascoe suggested that an Old Boy should take the chair, as a result of which J. J. L. Sisson was elected President and the Rector was in future to be Patron. Sisson was unable to devote much time to the Club's affairs, particularly because May was a busy month for court work; the responsibility of the secretary was consequently greater, and the Club was remarkably fortunate that K. M. Pennington became virtually permanent—he retired only in 1959, to continue on the central committee—and, as a member of the staff, was well placed to link the school with the Old Boys. Moreover, since the Rector was no longer the leader, the Club was freer to develop as a separate, critically appreciative institution, able to formulate its own view of what constituted the welfare of Michaelhouse.

What was in fact the re-creation of the Club by K. M. Pennington was marked by vigorous activity. In a year, membership increased by nearly a half to 263 and thereafter it became almost automatic to become a member on leaving school, K. M. Pennington never ceasing meanwhile to bring 'old' Old Boys into his net.

Branches were soon being formed or re-formed: Johannesburg in 1928, Durban and Estcourt in 1929, Pietermaritzburg and others from 1934 and especially after the war and at the time the Michaelhouse Trust was established. The activities of branches varied from time to time and from place to place—sometimes no more than an Annual General Meeting, usually the arrangement of at least one social gathering, sometimes the organisation of a fund-raising activity and occasionally the sponsoring of regular sporting contests with other clubs. (For a long time the most

ambitious undertaking was the annual dance, organised in the Pietermaritzburg city hall jointly with Hilton Old Boys and first held in 1925). In 1936, W. Hudson Bennett (then President) presented a golf trophy to encourage inter-branch activity and the contest has been an annual attraction to golfers (and others) since then (except for the war years). The branches have been a useful point of contact with the local community of Old Boys, though the Club's committee has sometimes felt frustrated by their inactivity—as when they responded poorly to an appeal for a pavilion fund. In no case, however, have they established club houses or sporting organisations associated exclusively with Michaelhouse Old Boys: the Old Boys' link with the school has been through the Secretary rather than through the branches.

Largely through K. M. Pennington, the Annual General Meeting of the Club at Michaelhouse has become the main function to gather Old Boys together. From 1924, the attendance at these meetings steadily rose to 98 in 1933, then—thanks to improved roads—jumped to 144 the following year, dropped during the war and rose again to about 150 to 200, except in the special years 1946 and 1956, when there were well over 200. To exercise the athletic and to entertain the lame and lazy—or simply old—there were rugby matches against the boys; and, in response to a suggestion from the Durban branch, other games were added from 1950. In 1935 a Memorial service was held to dedicate a tablet in memory of an Old Boy, Dr Bob Gibson, who had given great service to medicine in Johannesburg, and the service thereafter became an annual one to commemorate all Old Boys. Ascension Day became an opportunity to revive memories, renew friendships, decide policy, pit Old Boys against their successors, to criticise and to admire. There was just tribute as well as a slight barb in the definition coined by a sharp outsider: 'the Feast of St Kenneth and All Old Boys'.

'Friendly intercourse' was not, however, the only purpose of the Club and from 1925 it began to raise money for the school. The first scheme, emanating from a suggestion by E. A. Goodwin, was for a general building fund, but it met with little success and thereafter the appeals became more specific. The first substantial sum handed over to the Governors was over £500 in 1930 from the Pascoe Memorial Fund. In the next few years the Club, through Hudson Bennett in particular, raised money for the swimming bath and presented the school with a squash court; and in

1935 K. M. Pennington initiated the Jubilee Insurance Scheme, whereby Old Boys took out an insurance which they covenanted to the school and which resulted in £5,500 being handed over to the school in 1958, the fund being used for bursaries. Meanwhile a scheme to build a cricket pavilion was discussed in 1940 and the Secretary's suggestion that it should be the War Memorial was supported the following year. In the event the Memorial was the new chapel; but the Club pursued the pavilion project, delaying its general appeal for funds until after the completion of the chapel, and it was built in 1956. Since then, the establishment of the Michaelhouse Trust has made it undesirable for the Club to make appeals for large projects and its fund-raising has been confined to memorials—the most notable being for Hannah, which established scholarships for the sons of Old Boys—or to special honoraria to retiring staff.

The selection of projects which the Club sponsored indicates that it had established itself firmly as an independent member of the school community, for the pavilion project in particular was viewed with some misgiving by the Governors because its appeal might cut across other needs of the school. The contributions were nevertheless welcome additions, chiefly to the school's scholarship provision and to the amenities for sport. (The pavilion in addition made an admirable sort of club-house, suitably distant from the main school for Old Boys parties).

The Club also from time to time became a vehicle—and perhaps a safety valve—for expressing concern about the progress of the school. The first clear occasion of this was not a well-considered one: the Annual General Meeting discussed (heatedly, it seems) the standard of rugby, then coached by Strickland, and tried to bring pressure to bear on Bushell to change the coach, which was not unnaturally resented. Thereafter, whatever individuals might think of the sport from time to time, the Club avoided any official expression of opinion. But the Club stepped in twice when the school's colours were being reviewed: when Currey proposed registering the Coat of Arms, the Club feared this would involve a serious change in the badge and put up a strong resistance, and a settlement of the issue was eventually reached. Soon after the war, Snell proposed altering the badge ordinarily worn by the boys from the scales (whose colour varied according to the houses) to a uniform red St Michael's cross on a white background surmounted by small scales. To news of this the Club Committee

responded with a resolution that 'no change should be made . . . without consulting with our committee' and the matter was discussed at the Annual General Meeting two months later; but the change was effected.

Deeper matters of principle were involved in the Club's discussion of the admission of Chinese boys to the school, but in this case the Club rejected the Pietermaritzburg Branch resolution, which criticised the admission, and the Committee subsequently agreed unanimously that the boys should be treated like others for admission to the Club. The episode nevertheless illustrated both the merits and the dangers in the practice of discussing school policy. It offered an opportunity for those naturally deeply interested in the school's welfare—often as parents as well as Old Boys—to discuss frankly matters which they felt impinged on the school's traditions (and therefore future development), and in this way the chance of mere gossip adversely affecting the school was reduced. On the other hand, if, especially on a serious matter of policy, the Old Boys' Club had voiced an opinion clearly different from that of the Rector or the Governors, it would have involved a dangerous rift in the Michaelhouse community, the more perilous precisely because the Annual General Meeting was an important source of facts and opinions about the school which the Old Boys could disseminate among their acquaintances. It was partly to ensure that Old Boys would be adequately informed that, in 1946, the Governors authorised the Rector to make a financial report in the course of his annual address to the Club; and in fact the Club has generally been a sympathetic supporter, sometimes an interested remembrancer and only occasionally a sharp critic of school affairs.

For the shaping of the Club's policy, K. M. Pennington was no doubt particularly influential, by virtue of his long, direct association with the school and of his office, but the decisions were, of course, the Club's, not his. The organisation of the Club was, however, his creation. It was only from his assumption of office that the Ascension Day meetings at school became regular; it was through him that the membership was built up; it was often at his instigation that individuals started branches; and the clerical work was his. But perhaps most important was the prodigious task of keeping abreast of Old Boys' activities—through meetings, correspondence, hearing news from other Old Boys and in general gleaning information from any likely source. From the first issue

of the *Chronicle* there is some mention of Old Boys, but it is only from October 1924 that the Old Boys Notes became regular and full. During the war there were generally about 250 entries in each issue and even afterwards there were commonly 150 or more. It was an important method of establishing and preserving the Old Boy mystique and incidentally—because the notes appeared in the school magazine—encouraged interested Old Boys to note the school's progress.

In the Diamond Jubilee year of the school (1956), the Club elected K. M. Pennington its President; and though the honour might well have been a tribute to an outstanding schoolmaster, it was more especially a recognition of the fact that without him the Club would have been a much less significant institution.

His successor, Lance Knight, has nobly continued the tradition of efficient and personal work but, if only because of the growth of the club, it became very doubtful whether a member of staff could continue to carry the club in a part-time capacity. In discussing the merits of appointing a full-time secretary, the Old Boys were aware of the dangers of Parkinson's Law operating and there were some misgivings that the Club might be tempted to encroach on territory properly belonging to other members of the Michaelhouse community. It was recognised, however, that the task imposed on an honorary secretary whose full-time job was itself a demanding one, could not be maintained indefinitely; and the Club therefore determined to raise the funds necessary to establish a full-time secretary who might also help in the secretarial work of the Trust.

OLD BOYS

It is natural for a school to speak proudly about the 'achievements' of its Old Boys as evidence of the school's success in performing its social function. For a school like Michaelhouse, founded on the lines of an English public school, whose special characteristic was thought (at least until very recently) to be the production of leaders in society, Old Boys' successes are likely to be especially significant. And yet any reference to these successes as 'products' of the school must be subject to a number of qualifications.

Obviously the record of Old Boys' achievements presents a very limited view of the lives of Old Boys. It not only excludes social failures but it rarely presents a picture of the personal development of individuals. Moreover it seldom reflects the extent of Old

Boys' involvement in the local community, though the involvement may nevertheless represent a real contribution to the welfare of society. Certainly the evidence on these points is too flimsy to sustain valid generalisations.

Even at the national level, the degree of Old Boys' involvement is as much a function of the social milieu as of individual schools' success: it is a moot point whether Etonians predominated in British cabinets because they had been at Eton or because families patronising Eton were in any case likely to produce more than their fair share of ministers. In South Africa, social and political developments have on the whole operated against Old Boys of English-speaking schools achieving positions of political leadership or even leadership in the public service, at least since Michaelhouse Old Boys have been old enough to aspire to such positions. Perhaps in this respect Natalians were—or put themselves—at a particular disadvantage. Of the judges and senior civil servants who are listed and given biographical notices in Who's Who of Southern Africa in 1963, only three (all judges) had definitely been to a high school in Natal. (A fourth judge who was not in the biographical section, was Neville James, an Old Boy.)

Finally, the influence of and the opportunities offered by the home are obviously of prime importance. Not only does this background influence the boys' careers but, particularly if the parents are homogeneous in their background, it contributes substantially to the tone of the school. At Michaelhouse, the parents have been predominantly, though not exclusively, English-speaking; the majority have come from Natal, with an increasing proportion from the Transvaal from about 1930 and a substantial number from Rhodesia from about 1935 to 1955; and most have had to be able to afford relatively high fees.

A school may nevertheless claim at least that it has not prevented specific achievements; and it goes against common sense to suppose that a school, especially a boarding school, does not influence its pupils considerably. Moreover, it is worth exploring the achievement of Old Boys to try to see whether there are clear patterns in their achievements or notable omissions in the list.

Sporting achievements are not only the easiest to list but, if they are in games which the school practised, they are most closely associated with the school. The first international cap was awarded to T. Campbell, Springbok wicket-keeper in 1909, who had been a day boy at Michaelhouse in 1897. He was joined a few years

later (1912) by H. W. Taylor, who was described at school as being 'a good bat' who 'drives hard to the off'; and who was to captain South African teams for the record period from 1913/14 to 1936, breaking several batting records at the same time. His distinguished career was matched, at least in batting achievement, by A. Melville, whose school cricket has already been mentioned and who captained the Springboks immediately before the second World War and until 1951. Immediately after the war, there were, indeed, four Springboks from Michaelhouse (one of whom, N. B. F. Mann, had incidentally also been a golf blue). The others were A. Melville, O. C. Dawson and L. W. Payne. Apart from a gap of a few years after 1951, Michaelhouse has been represented in nearly all the Springbok cricket sides since 1909 and has provided two test umpires (J. V. Hart Davis and J. G. Draper). In rugby, by contrast, there have been no Springbok awards, though P. Taylor came very close, having captained Natal for six years and captained the Junior Springboks; and there have been two Scottish Internationals from Michaelhouse (C. Henderson and K. Elgie: the latter the only double international, winning a Springbok cricket cap in 1962). In school hockey, Michaelhouse can claim to have been a pioneer, and has been well represented in South African teams since their initiation after the war, P. Dobson being in the first team, followed by five others since then, one of them (J. Roberts) as captain. (One Old Boy, R. L. Kirkcaldie, captained Scotland before the war.)

Honours in athletics have also come since the war, to D. Clark in 1950 and P. Nash in 1965; and since then Nash has, of course, beaten national records in Europe. The only shooting cap thus far was also recent (A. Greaves in 1957).

These were all sports for which the school provided, but Old Boys have distinguished themselves in other fields, too. The most notable has been polo, in which there have not only been two Springbok captains (H. Brown, captain of the first Springbok team, and J. W. Chaplin) and two other Springboks, but in which Michaelhouse Old Boys were the pioneers and chief supporters. In another somewhat expensive sport, yachting, Michaelhouse has once been represented in the Olympic Games—by R. Standing in 1961—and B. Hersov was in the final eliminating contests for Great Britain in 1948. In boxing, the only international is J. Parker, who was the Scottish amateur heavy-weight in 1929, while he was studying medicine.

The list, especially if one adds provincial representation in tennis, squash, baseball and golf, reflects a decent catholicity of taste among Old Boy sportsmen. And there have been Old Boys in some provincial or national team practically every year since 1902 (when J. J. Bisset was in the Natal rugby team). The one remarkable feature about the representation is the sudden drop in the number of Old Boys in provincial but not under twenty rugby sides after the second World War—from not far short of fifty up to 1939 to a handful since then: since the school's rugby record has not changed markedly, it would be hazardous to account for the drop.

The function for which a school is especially equipped is to train the intellect; and, although many boys—particularly in the earlier days—have never intended to proceed with their studies, the success of Old Boys in university and similar scholarships is an indication of the way the school has been able to stimulate the more promising boys.

Among these scholarships, the Rhodes and (from the thirties) the Elsie Ballot have been particularly prized: because they are awarded for character as well as scholarship, they are more subjective than traditional scholarships, but they carry considerable prestige and the reward is to study at Oxford or (for the Elsie Ballot) Cambridge. The second award of a Natal Rhodes scholarship went, in 1904, to a Michaelhouse boy, J. J. Sisson, and this was soon afterwards followed by an award to C. G. Roach. There were three more by 1930, the five altogether representing one from each of the first four rectorships, with an additional one from Brown's. Then followed a remarkable succession of five in the early thirties and another at the outbreak of war, all of them having been at school under either Bushell or Currey or both. Add to the last group two Elsie Ballot scholars (N. Franklin and E. M. Burchell) from about the same time at school, and the record is a proud one. When the scholarships were resumed after the war, half-a-dozen Old Boys gained one of the distinctions in three years, including B. R. Fieldsend, who was to succeed Snell at Peterhouse, and R. F. Pennington; and, even more remarkable because there were not the extra awards there had been immediately after the war, five won Rhodes scholarships from 1963 to 1965. Altogether there have been twenty awards since the war, including the brothers David and Timothy Woods, sons of the late A. P. Woods. (Nearly half those who were awarded scholarships before 1960

chose teaching or lecturing as their careers, and the next largest group chose law).

As an indication of the variety of other awards, H. E. Allanson won a distinction and commendation in medicine at Manchester in 1911 and H. H. Curson was awarded the only first class pass the following year at the Royal Veterinary College. Between the wars, T. C. Lloyd had the distinction of being the first Old Boy to be appointed a university lecturer, and that at Yale; and during the second world war, P. Large was a gold medallist and prizeman for clinical surgery at Guy's. Shortly after the war, J. V. du Plessis won the University Post Graduate Scholarship for the best student in any faculty at Wits (his faculty was Engineering) and G. H. le May was Gladstone Memorial Prizeman at Oxford. This group is selective, but it redresses the balance which might have appeared (from the Rhodes and Elsie Ballot Scholarships list) to be overwhelmingly weighted on the side of the humanities.

Indeed there have been notable scientists among Michaelhouse Old Boys, though some of them were introduced to science by methods which even then were regarded as poor. R. A. Dyer, for instance, who was at school during the first World War, was awarded a D.Sc. shortly before the second World War for his analysis of the vegetation of part of the Eastern Province and won the Senior Capt. Scott Medal of the South African Biological Society. (He subsequently became chief of the division of Plant Pathology in the Union.) The first appointment to a chair in a science, however, came only in 1958, when E. Simpson was made Professor of Geology at Cape Town. There have been several since the war who have contributed significantly to the advancement of medicine, notably G. D. Campbell in the field of diabetes in Durban, J. Thorpe in heart diseases, W. H. Lawrence, Bronze Medallist in South Africa, and M. McGregor as head of the Faculty of Medicine at McGill University.

Just as in academic and research work Old Boys have become more prominent since the war, so most of those who have become leaders in their profession have done so since 1945. Before the war several had been elected to positions of responsibility at the provincial level—in the Institute of Land Surveyors and the Law Society, for instance, and J. J. Sisson had been appointed a Q.C.; but the election of N. W. Hosking to be vice-president (and subsequently president) of the Association of Pharmaceutical Societies in 1938 registered the first high national office to be

held by an Old Boy. (He was one of the 'migration' boys.)

Since the war, there have been a number becoming leaders at the national level, nearly all of them having been at school after the first World War and most of them at school from the late twenties onwards. In fact, in 1953, when D. Visick was Chairman of the Central Council of Land Surveyors, the Natal Council had a heavy Michaelhouse representation (including Visick), all five of them having been at school after 1924. The Johannesburg Stock Exchange (C. Wiley), the Chamber of Mines (S. Fleischer) and the Motor Traders' Association (R. Eriksen); The Institute of Architects (E. Hudson Bennett), the Law Society (L. Lister) and the Bar Council (D. Shaw) have since then had Old Boys as presidents.

Associated with agriculture, D. B. Evans, was elected president of the South African Stud Book Association; and R. Armstrong was made Chairman of the South African Sugar Association.

An appointment to the Bench is universally recognised as a mark of distinction, and here again the first Michaelhouse appointment (as a judge in the Natal branch of the Supreme Court) was after the war: N. James in 1957. The next was of J. Fieldsend to the Bench in Southern Rhodesia and D. L. L. Shearer was appointed to the Natal Bench in 1968.

It is otherwise difficult to know what criterion to use to indicate some of the non-elective distinctions of Old Boys. A number have become prominent in financial and industrial corporations, of whom the most notable is W. D. Wilson, managing director of the Anglo American Corporation (and also, incidentally, Chairman of the Standing Committee of Associated Church Schools). One of Natal's most important industries—sugar—has included several Old Boys among its leaders, among them A. A. Lloyd, who was director of the Sugar Association and has regularly represented the industry in international conferences. In agriculture, R. Evans has won distinction for his model farming in the Orange Free State, J. W. Cross was honoured with an M.B.E. for his pioneer farming in Northern Rhodesia and, as a technical adviser, S. Roach was similarly honoured for his service to agriculture in Sierra Leone.

A considerable proportion of the early Old Boys entered the public service—particularly as magistrates—and a number of Old Boys later served in the colonies. Soon after the war J. Cottrell had the prodigious task of directing African Education in Northern

Rhodesia and N. Reed became the Director of Veterinary Services in Tanganyika; and at least two Old Boys, J. Elliot in Basutoland and B. Stubbings in Tanganyika, have received recognition in New Year's Honours lists for their contribution to colonial government.

With two great wars claiming the lives of some two hundred Old Boys and enlisting fifteen hundred or more, the military service of Old Boys has already largely been covered, for not many seem to have made the armed services their career. Among those who did, however, were two foundation boys, the Leslie brothers, who served in the R.A.M.C., and one of them (R. W. D.)had a career of particular distinction, rising to the rank of Major-General on the eve of the second World War and being an honorary physician to the King. In the thirties a number of Old Boys joined the R.A.F. and after the war two of these rose steadily to high rank: E. J. Morris and B. Young to be Vice-Marshals. The permanent force in South Africa appears not to have been attractive, but two Natal regiments have been commanded by Old Boys: the N.F.A. by A. T. Tatham and by his son, F. St. G. Tatham, and the R.N.C. by P. C. A. Francis. In commotions apart from the great wars, T. R. Waller was awarded an M.C. in Burma in 1932; and after the war Old Boys were among civilians distinguished for their bravery in the harrowing time of the Mau Mau in Kenya (P. Nicholas and J. A. MacNab) and in riots in Bechuanaland.

There have been few Old Boys deeply committed to the creative arts of peace. J. van Beek, a day boy in 1900, published a volume of poems which gained a moderately favourable review in the *Spectator* and wrote a play which was performed before the High Commissioner, Lord Selbourne; but after that there is a great silence. The second World War stimulated three volumes of poetry (by G. Tolmer, H. G. Barnby and an Old Boy who was then anonymous but who can now be named: N. M. Clothier) and two controversial books on war conditions (by V. Humphries and N. Robinson). H. G. Barnby has continued his writing since the war and he has been joined as a novelist by A. Fleischer; but it is a short list, even if one adds two works which are standard references in their respective fields: H. H. Curson's *Regimental Devices in South Africa* and L. M. Thompson's scholarly and important historical reinterpretation of the events leading to Union.

One creative artist from Michaelhouse had a marked, though short-lived, influence on a wider circle. Frank Graham Bell was

the intellectual leader in a group of painters (the 'Euston Road School'), among whom was Victor Pasmore, and they were held together by an enthusiasm to revive impressionism and an ardently critical social conscience. The exigencies of war precipitated the dissolution of the group and impressionism was not revived; but one of Bell's paintings—*Picture of a Lady*—was bought by the Tate Gallery in 1944. Whether he would have enhanced his reputation must remain uncertain, for he was killed while serving with the R.A.F.

When people talk about a school 'producing leaders', they commonly think especially of elected leaders. At the local level, there has been a respectable number of Old Boys, from F. Greaves, the youngest mayor of Newcastle when he was first elected in 1921, to G. Forder, who was the youngest president of the Natal Municipal Association (he was Mayor of Estcourt), and including a Mayor of Durban (R. Carte).

At the provincial or national level, there have been few; but it has not been altogether for want of trying. The first aspiring politician was a rugged individualist in his practice if not in his theory: H. Dold helped to organise the Grey Shirt campaign in 1933 and stood as an Independent Industrialist for a Durban seat; and on the eve of the war and again after the war he stood successively as an Independent and as a Nationalist, but without success. The Dominion Party of the thirties was, perhaps, a more likely attraction among small parties, and A. W. Lister and T. C. Lloyd contested seats for them, also without success.

It was not until the war that the school gained its first political representative, when E. Bell was elected to parliament unopposed for the Johannesburg constituency of Orange Grove (subsequently Houghton), which he continued to represent until he retired in 1953. His only successor thus far in the South African parliament was R. Butcher, who represented the Berea in Durban from 1953 until 1961, first for the United Party and then for the Progressives. On the other hand, at the level of national leadership, P. M. Brown was elected Chairman of the Liberal Party in 1959, a position he retained until he suffered under a banning order.

At the provincial level, however, there have been four successful candidates since the war, all in Natal. L. Hall was elected in the first post-war elections (1948) and ten years later was chosen as Chairman of the Provincial Council. R. B. Archibald was elected the representative for Umzimkulu and is now a Member of the

Executive Committee; K. L'Estrange is Chairman of the Council; and D. Stainbank is a Provincial Councillor. All initially stood for the United Party, but L. Hall joined the Progressive Party and subsequently lost his seat.

Outside South Africa, one of the pre-migration boys, L. W. G. Eccles, was nominated to the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia before the war; later, B. Goodman was a member of Northern Rhodesia's Legislative Council; and I. Bayldon was a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council after the war. A remarkable recent achievement has been the election of I. Lloyd as a British M.P.: he had previously had the distinction of being the first South African to be elected President of the Cambridge Union, in 1954 became a member of the South African Board of Trade, subsequently emigrated to England and in 1965 was elected as a Conservative member for a Portsmouth constituency.

From such a short list of participants it would be rash to draw firm conclusions. It is clear, however, that there have been none dedicated from an early age to a political career as many English public school leaders have been; but this has been characteristic of English-speaking South Africans. Partly for this reason, it was unlikely that there would be any political aspirants from among Old Boys until the thirties; and thereafter, the war and the 1948 election seriously reduced opportunities—if not incentives—for English-speaking politicians. Where they have remained substantial—Natal—Old Boys have begun to play a larger part. The other point worth noting is that, although all the successful candidates have been elected as members of the United Party (two of them subsequently joining the Progressives), aspirant candidates have represented all the major South African political parties since 1930 except the Labour Party—and there have been others who have held local office in all these parties. In other words, it would be wrong to deduce from the successful candidates that the school's interpretation of leadership in the community has been sectional.

It was an explicit aim of the founders of the old Bishop's College in Pietermaritzburg and it has been implicit in the relationship of Michaelhouse to the diocese that the school should help to inspire boys to go into orders. In England, most of the clergy came from public schools: could an Anglican foundation in Natal not serve the same purpose? In Natal, however (and

probably in South Africa as a whole), the obstacles were considerable. The diocese had had to rely on expatriates from England and even after education had developed sufficiently for some self-help to be possible, the tradition of reliance remained, reinforced, perhaps, by a feeling that the church was not quite manly enough for members of what was still a pioneer society. It is said, indeed, that when Archdeacon Johnson abandoned farming to go into the church about fifty years ago, he was regarded as rather mad by his friends and acquaintances; and it has been only in the last ten years or so that the diocese has been able to rely on South Africans to fill most vacancies in predominantly European parishes. To what extent have Old Boys from Michaelhouse contributed to the change?

The first Old Boy (and one of the first Natalians) to be ordained was H. J. B. Green, grandson of Dean Green, who, while a schoolboy under Todd, had been awarded the Royal Humane Society's medal for saving two ladies from drowning. He was ordained in England in 1912 and later came to a parish in Cape Town, but died of 'flu' at the end of the first World War. He was followed in the priesthood by E. F. Pennington, son of Archdeacon Pennington, who was ordained in 1922, was soon afterwards the first Old Boy to preach in the chapel and, after many years in Natal (he was the first Natal born priest in the diocese), became subdean and a canon of the cathedral. Three more were ordained before the end of the war: V. Shaw in 1931, who has served most of his priesthood in Natal; H. Harker in 1939, who became chaplain at St Andrew's after the war; and A. Cross in 1941, who served in Natal and England before becoming Dean of Bloemfontein in 1958. After the war, 1946 was particularly memorable, for three Old Boys were ordained on the same day: K. B. Hallowes and T. Heywood Harris, who were both to serve in Natal, the former becoming a canon and, in 1969, Suffragon Bishop and the latter an archdeacon; and B. B. Burnett, who was to be the first Old Boy chaplain, later Bishop of Bloemfontein and subsequently General Secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa. Nine more have been ordained since then, including one, P. Harker, who has been made an archdeacon in the diocese of Zululand. Six—just over a tenth—of the European clergy serving in Natal are now Old Boys. It is a tiny proportion of the total number of Old Boys, but it is a not dishonourable record, which the school cannot claim for itself but to which it may have contributed a little.

There have been many Old Boys engaged actively in the work of their church as laymen—as elders, councillors or churchwardens; as technical advisers in one field or another; or simply as committed Christians. One layman particularly committed to evangelisation is M. Cassidy, a leader of the Africa Enterprise group, a movement dedicated to mission campaigns to people of all denominations and races in Africa.

The cumulative effect of lists of Old Boys' achievements is inevitably over-sweet. Three more general references may make this chapter more palatable, though hardly spiced (they lead to no surprising conclusion). The first concerns the 'achievements'; the other two concern the 'ordinary' Old Boys.

The achievements of Michaelhouse Old Boys have not been such as to make the men's names known to educated people internationally—except in the fields of sport and dress designing —although some have earned an international reputation among specialists in their field. The achievements as a whole rather indicate the very wide field in which Old Boys have been influential, particularly in South Africa but also in other African countries and even overseas. Their influence was, however, hardly felt until the thirties and became marked only after the second World War. Moreover, except for those concerned with agriculture, most of the Old Boys whose achievements have gained notice were at school after the mid-twenties. This is partly, of course, because there have been more Old Boys since then. It is probable, too. that after the second World War there were more opportunities for younger men to achieve positions of responsibility and that those who had left school relatively recently were therefore accelerated in their careers; whereas for many older men the war itself had been a barrier to progress. And it is just possible that the marked expansion of the school at the end of the twenties made the school environment more stimulating.

As reflected in the 'Personal Notes' on Old Boys in the *Chronicles*, the occupations of Old Boys in general have ranged from running a trading store to controlling a financial empire, from dress designing (Victor Stiebel) to designing freeways; they have included headmasters (and sometimes founders) of prep. schools and inspectors of schools, magistrates and legislators, at least one labour recruiter and several peace-time military, naval and air force officers; their adventures include an overland expedition across the Sahara (P. M. Brown) and a record-breaking glider success

(S. Barker); one has had butterflies named after him (K. M. Pennington) and another (I. Garland) established a nature reserve in memory of K. M. Pennington's son (Mick Pennington). A more significant feature of their occupations, though hardly less surprising, is that over the years they have reflected changes in the South African economy. Initially a large proportion of Old Boys seems to have gone in for agriculture, particularly farming. Farming is apparently still second on the list of occupations (non-farmers may think this is because they have more time to write to the Secretary), but the proportion has dropped markedly, probably from before 1930. The proportion going into government and municipal service has probably also dropped, though not by very much (and if teaching is included perhaps not dropped at all). The biggest increase has been in those going into commerce and industry—particularly the latter—which has replaced agriculture at the top of the list. An interesting detail is that accountancy—unrepresented in the early days—rapidly became popular in about the early thirties—a reflection of the growth of a virtually new profession.

Initially most Old Boys settled in Natal or East Griqualand, but with a significant number in the Transvaal. The attraction of the Transvaal increased markedly, however, from about 1930 so that Natal only just held the lead in 1960, though among entrants, Natalians still represent a substantial majority. The direction of the change is to be expected and corresponds, both in time and force, with the apparently greater attraction of commerce and industry. There has also been a remarkable increase in the proportion of Old Boys settling not only in other provinces in South Africa but in other African territories. About an eighth of the boys who entered Michaelhouse between 1930 and 1952 were living in Rhodesia in 1960 and nearly five per cent were in other British colonies or protectorates in Africa: many of them were no doubt from these territories originally, but others were emigrants. There was also a notable increase in the number living overseas, some of them no doubt boys who, but for the war, would have gone to school in England—sons of war-time sojourners and others.

Men from Michaelhouse, though concentrated in Natal and the Transvaal, are widely scattered. Few, however, have anywhere been widely recognised as leaders in the accepted sense: where they have gained recognition it has rather tended to be as men

influential in their chosen occupation or in a fairly localised community or, occasionally, as leaders or potential leaders of a minority. This is hardly a fulfilment of Todd's vision of the school's rôle in society. But it can be said that the number of Old Boys holding various positions of responsibility in South Africa has increased since 1946, in the professions, industry and commerce, in the church and even in politics.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

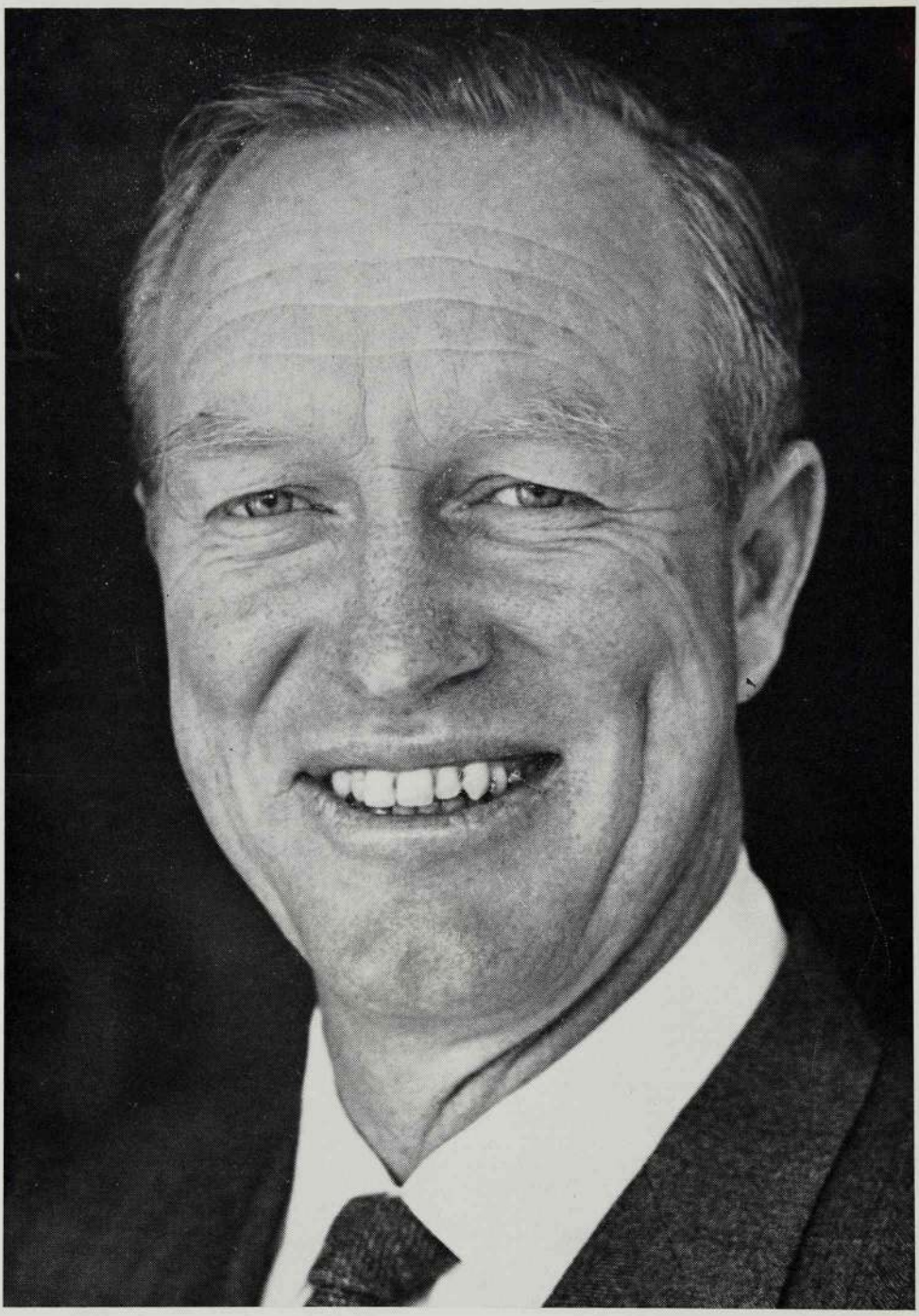
The Threads

MICHAELHOUSE was founded when there were only two government high schools for boys in Natal and a number of independent schools which provided secondary classes, all of them private ventures except for the Marist Brothers school in Pietermaritzburg. Now, nearly all European boys attend a high school as a matter of course and all the independent high schools are public trusts of one sort or another, most of them receiving public subsidies. Michaelhouse has therefore gained from the increasing demand for secondary education but at the same time has had to compete with the increasing public assumption of responsibility for secondary education of a generally sound quality.

Nevertheless, in the first twenty years of Michaelhouse, the demand for secondary education was neither insistent nor consistent and the school might easily have followed the course of its precursor (Bishop's in Pietermaritzburg): the crisis after Hugh-Jones's resignation showed this and even under Brown the school had deliberately to attract more pupils. When the demand increased after the first World War it was still somewhat selective; but Michaelhouse had at least survived to take advantage of it and had moreover a commendable record of Rhodes Scholarships, an honourable record of Old Boys who served in the war, a good sporting record and examination results which were comparable with those of other schools. Under Pascoe, the school responded conservatively—even hesitantly—to the demand so that the school remained essentially a small one, much better equipped than it had ever been (and therefore better placed to expand later) but incapable of offering a range of courses or a variety of organised activities.

It was Bushell who, at the risk of disrupting the school's

HUGH BROWN MEMORIAL GATES



REX FRAMPTON PENNINGTON
Rector 1969-

harmony, seized the opportunities and set the school on the path of expansion, and under Currey the school was able to continue on the path, in spite of the depression, because he re-established an equilibrium. In its first twenty years, the school had had accommodation for about ninety boys; in the next ten years numbers rose by about a third; in the dozen years before the second World War they rose by two and a half times to well over three hundred; in 1952 there were 388; and in 1968 there were over 420. It is not a large school, but the size of a large number of independent boarding schools in England. It was fortunate as well as a tribute to Currey that at the critical period of rapid expansion, the school kept and attracted a good and stable staff so that it was not simply a larger school than before but a more notable one: from a small school set in the Natal countryside it became a school firmly set in the South African context. Well over half the boys still come from Natal, but there is a strong contingent from the Transvaal (about 30%), a number come from the Cape and Orange Free State, and about a tenth come from beyond the Republic's borders.

Expansion made possible—and sometimes necessitated—changes within the school. Conditioned by the examination system, the curriculum had hardly differed from that offered in government schools: initially, perhaps, there was a greater reluctance to admit such subjects as bookkeeping, but numbers precluded the offering of a variety of courses. Under Currey and Snell the Michaelhouse curriculum became distinctive: in a sense it became more committed to the classical curriculum—bookkeeping was discouraged and then dropped from the regular curriculum, Latin was greatly encouraged and boys still took Greek at Michaelhouse; at the same time the examination courses became more varied and flexible (thanks partly to the system of setting, partly to abandoning the Junior Certificate examination) and the non-examination subjects assumed greater importance. The most distinctive curriculum development was the firm establishment of a post matric. class or Sixth Form: not simply for a few select boys, as it had been in the early days of the school, but an integral part of the school's organisation. Almost certainly, too, the academic standard reached by the boys was raised, partly stemming from traditions of work and reading which Pascoe had succeeded in encouraging, partly because society had emerged from the pioneer stage into an industrial and commercial

complex, and, especially, because in the thirties the quality of the staff was unquestionably good.

The increase in size affected the intimate relationship which existed among all the members of the Michaelhouse community, but the organisation of the houses provided an alternative focus for loyalties and there remained powerful instruments to unify the school—organised games and school societies, dining in hall and chapel services and, especially, the directing influence and active involvement of vigorous rectors. Perhaps the greater sophistication of the school's organisation smothered some valuable characteristics—the sort of sturdy self-reliance that develops a healthy commonsense; but the change in this respect can easily be exaggerated. Boys continued to assist and sometimes to direct many of the formal activities and the School Council was strengthened under Snell. Some—was it ever more than a minority?—showed initiative in their free activities: there were a number of climbing expeditions in Snell's time, for instance, one of them of four boys (J. D. Macleod, W. E. Kramer, M. N. Harvey and M. Simmons) with Snell himself who were the second group to climb the east face of Giant's Castle; and the Venture Club has provided more opportunities for rugged independence.

Nevertheless, from Bushell onwards, the lives of the boys were more fully and deliberately organised to achieve the school's purpose: the curriculum was reviewed and extra-curricular activities increased; school uniform became obligatory and speech days and other functions were used to enhance the prestige and the solidarity of the school; and the staff became more fully involved in the general life of the school through membership of societies or as housemasters and house tutors. The changes were related to the increased number at the school and to the 'educational' vision of the rectors (only the last of whom, Norwood, was professionally trained).

The two most important characteristics of an independent school are the absence of any financial support from public funds and the freedom of the school to determine its own policies.

At least until the establishment of the Trust, Michaelhouse suffered from a shortage of capital to provide buildings and equipment when the need arose and the consequent necessity to borrow money placed a strain—sometimes severe—on the revenue of the school. The Governors nevertheless steadfastly though seldom unanimously rejected the idea of applying for a subsidy from

provincial funds. In the early, most difficult, years, moreover, Old Boys were hardly able to make substantial contributions to the school. Though F. S. Tatham suggested as early as 1909 that they should be approached, the first significant help came for the Memorial Hall and again in the thirties when the first substantial contribution from an Old Boy was made by H. Brown. The school therefore had to rely on the generosity of men otherwise associated with the school, particularly the governors, and pre-eminent among the benefactors were F. S. Tatham and H. Butcher, without whom the school would not have survived or developed. The contribution of the church was no less important—through the donations of the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G. and through taking over loans at a low rate of interest. It was not, however, until after the first World War that money became available from South African funds: then the Rhodes Trustees and subsequently the Bailey Trust made donations for specific purposes; and from the thirties the mining industry showed a practical interest. The expansion of the school, coinciding with the depression, eased the financial position temporarily, but capital development continued to present problems after the war and it was not until the establishment of the Michaelhouse Trust in 1958 that long-term planning really became feasible.

One possible source of financial relief was to apply for government aid, and the Board discussed the question on several occasions, especially from the forties.

In 1941, concerned particularly about the additional expense involved in salaries for those on active service, one of the governors (Smythe) suggested that the school should apply for the provincial grant. Snell drew up a memorandum which, while stating arguments both for and against government aid, recommended that the application should be made, chiefly on financial grounds but also to have a 'bridge' to the state system. Major Lewis Byron, a recently elected governor and a member of the Provincial Council, submitted a letter opposing the application and drawing attention to the fact that, whatever the degree of control exercised at the time, taxpayers consistently demand a greater control over institutions which they support financially; and by a 'large majority' the Board rejected the idea of becoming aided. When the matter was again discussed shortly after the war, but still before the aims of Christian National Education were widely known, the proposal to apply for aid was again lost; and by this

time Snell himself was fearful of state control, pointing to a draft ordinance in the Transvaal which extended control over all schools.

Smythe had been the chief protagonist of government aid on the Board, but his retirement in 1950 did not end the discussions and in Snell's last year there was another full debate on a memorandum drawn up by J. D. Robinson. After an interview with the Natal Director of Education, Dr McConkey, he felt reasonably assured that aided schools retained their essential independence in spite of being subject to inspection: although the provincial authorities laid down certain conditions (e.g. the number of days schooling a year), subjected aided schools to inspection and could withdraw the grant if the work, equipment or general conduct of the school were unsatisfactory, they did not prescribe texts or teaching methods or interfere with the school's discretion to admit and expel pupils. With the existing staff and their qualifications, he estimated that the grant would bring the school just over £5,000 a year, but this could be used only for salaries, not for capital or other equipment. Although the proposal was not taken to a vote at the Board meeting, the majority seemed averse to making the application and the matter was dropped. Although individuals have raised the matter subsequently, the staunchly held views of the Bishop and the launching of the Trust have greatly strengthened the case for continued independence.

The issue really lay between certain but limited financial advantages and uncertain but possibly unlimited restrictions on the school's independence. Although the grant could be used only for the salaries of 'recognised' teachers, it would have freed some of the school's income for other purposes and it would have enabled the Board to avoid raising the fees for the time being. On the other hand it was most unlikely that the subsidy would keep pace with rising costs and increased expectations of what a school should provide even if the rate were subsequently adjusted. Moreover, it would be easy, as the Rector put it in a memorandum on the Building Fund Appeal in 1947, to slip into dependence on the grant so that the threat of its withdrawal would make it very difficult for the school to withstand official pressure. It is true that legislation could be enacted to control 'independent' schools whether they were in receipt of public subsidies or not, but such control is much less defensible if taxpayers' money is not involved. It is probably true, too, that up to the present the degree

of independence enjoyed by aided schools is, for practical purposes, much the same as that enjoyed by the fully independent schools: within the limitations of the examination structure, they are as free to shape their own curricula and methods, to appoint teachers and (subject to a number of laws like the Group Areas Act) to control the admission of pupils. The most recent (1967) Act affecting schools, however, emphasises that there is a real distinction between aided and non-aided schools: for certain purposes a 'school' is defined as a school which is in receipt of public funds and such schools are *inter alia* liable to inspection by or on behalf of the central government.

The implications of the Act (and others) are uncertain, but it seems at least probable that schools could be affected in three ways. There could be pressure, if not direction, to make the schools' curricula conform to a pre-conceived notion of what is right for South Africans, including especially history as a compulsory subject to a particular stage of the secondary school and including a set proportion of South African history. There might be pressure to ensure a so-called 'South African' tone in the school—to curtail the expression of opinion by staff and pupils if the opinion were hostile to government policy, to avoid visits by contentious figures, to avoid involvement in social conditions which might embarrass those in authority and perhaps even to influence the sort of relationship between staff and pupils. And there could well be direction that only English-speaking (and perhaps only Anglican English-speaking) pupils should be admitted to a school with an Anglican foundation. (Some Bantu schools have been affected thus). Moreover, it is possible that schools may not be allowed to employ 'unqualified' teachers: in South Africa this means teachers who have not been professionally trained, and this in itself would affect independent schools particularly; with legislation impending to control teacher training, the implications of this become even more serious. Legislation on education in the past few years gives no ground for supposing that these restrictions are impossible. To forgo the advantages of a grant was an important assertion of the value of the right to control the school's policies independently of the ideologies of the ruling party.

The power of the school to shape its own policies is shared between the Board of Governors and the Rector and subject to the terms of the Trust Deed. Although there have been occasions when the Governors have concerned themselves directly with the

running of the school, they have in general exercised their power only in matters of finance and general development, leaving the rectors to determine matters of educational policy. As Brown expressed it, the school 'stands for the liberty of the skilled worker —that is, the absolute freedom allowed by the governors of this school to myself and my staff to work out our ideals in education in the way we think best . . .' The freedom has never in fact been 'absolute' partly because rectors have naturally been sensitive to advice from the governors (as governors have been sensitive to the advice of rectors), partly because the South African examinations structure has imposed limitations on all headmasters' freedom. It is nevertheless relevant to ask whether the considerable independence issued in any notable educational experiments or whether, as a recent article has asserted, the private school 'is probably the most conservative of educational bodies in S. Africa'.

Todd showed a degree of independence (albeit conservative) in his evaluation of 'new' subjects like English literature and Hugh-Jones seems to have been more serious in his support of science than other Natal headmasters of the time; but it was not until Bushell introduced the Sixth Form that Michaelhouse made a clear contribution to educational practice. Even now, government schools have no post matric. classes and in many independent schools the classes have a tenuous hold—indeed it is probable that Michaelhouse has the biggest proportion of sixth formers of any South African school. Especially since Morgan's modifications, it is an experiment which deserves recognition. The abandonment of the Junior Certificate is another example of what was then a bold decision to release the hold of examinations on the schools; and the practice of setting (ability grouping in each subject), the separation of the physical sciences into two subjects, the addition of biology, the introduction of some flexibility in the courses offered and in general the enrichment of the curriculum are all steps which Michaelhouse took ahead of other Natal schools at least. Attempts to provide an alternative 'stream'—like the BX class of Snell or the National Senior Certificate group under Norwood—have not been successful, but they indicate a lively awareness of current educational problems. Moreover a recent study suggests strongly (though not conclusively) that, far from handicapping the academically weaker pupils, the lack of clear-cut streams and the operation of flexible sets provide an advantage over departmental streaming policy.

In the attention paid to art and music, in careers guidance and in the organisation and expansion of extra-curricular activities Michaelhouse was also a pioneer. The merit of independent schools is that, if they use their independence, both their successes and their failures can be an example to others. For in the public sector, experiments and changes have bureaucratic and conflicting public interests to contend with. Certainly the variety and extent of the opportunities available for the boys expanded remarkably, especially from the forties.

The fact that Michaelhouse became a school for boarders only made the need to develop extra-curricular activities more urgent; and a boarding school obviously has a greater responsibility for its pupils than does a day school. Whether a boarding school is better than a day school is a question which individual parents answer differently and no expert evidence has yet proved them wrong. Nevertheless, the fact that Todd and his supporters were convinced of the value of boarding—as, indeed, was Clark, the headmaster of Maritzburg College—helped to determine that the school's permanent home would be in the country. Michaelhouse thus became a school for boarders alone, like Hilton College but unlike the other diocesan schools up to that time.

The siting of the school at Balgowan was a momentous decision. It had some clear advantages: water was available, it was on the railway (very much more important then than a road), the climate is bracing and the setting beautiful; and the fact that it was far from a town's distractions was a strong recommendation to the founders. But there were serious disadvantages, especially connected with staffing. In the early days especially, when there were few adults on the estate and a journey to town was a major expedition, the strain of living in a closed community must have been a considerable deterrent to remaining long and perhaps discouraged some from joining at all. More certainly, the lack of houses meant that few married men could be recruited and that marriage rendered a man liable to become redundant; and the capital expenditure involved discouraged the Governors from building many houses until the eve of the second World War. It was, moreover, more difficult to find part-time teachers and to fill casual vacancies. Most of these difficulties were considerably reduced as the size of the Michaelhouse community grew and as road transport improved, and it is a remarkable fact, to which many members of staff have testified, that the community, at

least from the thirties, was a happy and coherent one, thanks in no small measure to the rectors' wives; but the site added to the burdens of establishing the school firmly.

For the boys, on the other hand, the site presented some advantages. By the time it was thought at all desirable for them to partonise Pietermaritzburg's 'distractions'—concerts or plays, for instance—improved roads and the co-operation of masters with cars made it feasible, though difficult. Meanwhile, the boys could be allowed a greater degree of freedom than would have been thought wise in a town, and the opportunities for meeting girls, though meagre indeed by day school standards, are about the same as those reported as typical of English public schools. On the other hand, opportunities for active social work are less—or at least more difficult to organise—in a rural setting, and for the most part the service work encouraged by Snell took place on the school estate or during the holidays and since then the development has been slow.

There is a world of difference between the graceful charm of Michaelhouse today and the stark independence of its battlements when Todd moved to Balgowan, and it is a vindication of Todd's choice that Snell sited Peterhouse in the country (though not far from a small town). But it required great fortitude on the part of successive rectors to recruit and preserve a healthy community in the setting.

Unlike Bishop's in Pietermaritzburg, which had had the explicit backing of Synod, and unlike Bishop's in Cape Town and St Andrew's in Grahamstown, which were founded by the respective Bishops, Michaelhouse was founded by a man who happened to be a clergyman and the establishment of the diocesan connection coincided with the establishment of a governing board which included laymen. Michaelhouse also differed from the others in changing over to a lay headmaster much sooner. Yet it is unlikely that these differences were more than superficial: all the schools are called diocesan, but the nature of the diocesan connection is most difficult to define.

The instruments of the connection are clear. The Trust declares that the religious education should be in accordance with the tenets of the Church of the Province of South Africa and insists that the Rector should be an Anglican. Since the migration, the school has had a chapel, at first a make-shift, then a more substantial one and then one which was clearly the most significant

part of the buildings architecturally; and chapel services have throughout been an important means of achieving a school spirit. Though the staff have not been obliged to be Anglicans, they were expected to be able to work happily in a school with a religious purpose; the majority of the boys have come from nominally Anglican homes; and the Board of Governors was at first exclusively and then predominantly Anglican. The school has also benefited financially from the connection. One can say further that all the rectors have consciously striven to use the instruments to promote the religious life of the school, and that the successive bishops have been active, not nominal chairmen of the Board. These factors contributed a sense of confidence in the religious education provided by the school commonly lacking in the government schools, and though involvement in a parish might well be a better means of promoting Christian commitment, many parishes were not (and are not) equipped to involve adolescents and very many boys would not have made use of parish facilities anyway, as Snell's survey showed. What proportion of the boys have been introduced to church life through the school, it is impossible to say, but the response to the week's visit by Michael Cassidy in 1968 indicated at the very least a lively interest in Christianity.

The story of Michaelhouse illustrates that Christian education and liberal education (the other declared aim of the school) are not incompatible but interdependent. It is true that chapel attendance was obligatory, whatever the denomination of the boy, and 'divinity' was in the curriculum for everyone. On the other hand, the consistent aim of classroom teaching has been to encourage enquiring minds—doubtless not achieved consistently, but not confined by doctrinal or other religious considerations; and the debating subjects from the thirties and some of the articles in *Beacon* are an indication of the variety of views tolerated among staff and boys.

It is sometimes said that Michaelhouse and schools like it are un-South African because they stem from an essentially English institution and draw their inspiration (and some of their staff) from England. The example of English schools—particularly public schools—was important in the foundation of Michaelhouse and in its organisation, but there was no other tradition to draw on, and the government schools owed much to the same source—Maritzburg College had already introduced the prefectorial

system by the time Michaelhouse was founded. Even in staffing, Michaelhouse was not initially exceptional in having to rely on graduates of British universities and although South Africans had begun to play an important part in Natal schools by 1930, Currey was the first South African headmaster of an important boys' high school in Natal. From about the end of the twenties about a third of the staff were British, about a third were South African graduates and about a third were South Africans with British degrees and the proportion of South Africans—indeed of Old Boys—has increased considerably in the sixties. Some of the staff—both English and South African—irritated their colleagues as late as the thirties by referring to 'our' team when they meant the M.C.C., but the majority, even of the expatriates, were 'English-speaking' rather than 'English'. The school certainly became progressively more South African in its outlook, partly in conformity with the rest of Natal but also as a result of school policy, particularly, though not exclusively, under Currey and Snell.

In common with many English schools, the prestige of Afrikaans among boys was for long somewhat insecure but it was made obligatory for South African nationals to take it (the majority had taken it—or Dutch—from early in the school's history). Michaelhouse, moreover, offered an African language long before most schools seriously considered such a move. In spite of the predominantly English-speaking nature of the school (in which it did not differ markedly from other English medium schools) and the presence of a significant proportion of men from overseas, the civic education of the boys was centred on South Africa and if the presence of non-South Africans helped to place the problems in perspective and to present a greater variety of views, this can only have enhanced the value of the education.

From a handful of boys in a house on a dusty street of a small town, Michaelhouse developed under nine rectors and three bishops (four if Baynes is included), through at least two serious depressions and two world wars, into a community of nearly a thousand people, in some ways set apart from but essentially a part of a rapidly developing sub-continent. Occasionally it was almost smothered by circumstances; more notably it has responded to both the demands and the opportunities of a changing society. Few of its Old Boys have become national figures and some of its experiments were short-lived. But in two respects at least the vision and faith of the founders have been justified: the education

the school was able to provide became markedly and more genuinely liberal—in the sense that it assumed that man's intellect is what contributes most to his freedom and in the sense that there is more than one way to train the intellect; and the rectors have consistently upheld the view that Christian witness should be a distinguishing feature of the school. Though Michaelhouse has not been alone in proclaiming these principles, the example is invaluable in the South African context.

APPENDICES

I

Roll of Honour

1899–1902
W. A. Buncombe

1914–1918

Antony Brown
John Anderson
Eric Andrews
Athol Armstrong
Harold Bateman
Samuel Bouverie
Frank Brandon
George Brown
Jack Burke
Robert Carter
Harold Davis
Basil Black
Wilfred Flack
William Forder
Charles Forder
Rex Frampton
Charles Furness
Bransby Goodwin
Hugh Greene
Charles Hilditch
Reginald Hindson
James Hutchinson
Frank Janion
Kenneth Letchford
Donald McKechnie
Norman Middleton
Raymond Murphy
Lionel Nedham
Lawrence Nunn
Reginald Payn
Cecil Ponting
Gerald Power
Francis Quin
George Ross
William Stainbank
Arthur Stainbank
Eric Strapp
Errol Tatham
William Tatham
Morn Tatham
Cyprian Tayler
Walter Terry
Brian Waller
Herbert Walters

1939–1945

Cecil Adams
Hugh Alder
Michael Austin
Paul Austin
Colin Bain-Marais
Peter Banham
Malcolm Banks
John Biggs
Byran Bird
Frederick Bluck
Noel Borland
Brian Boyd
Nigel Boyd
Lindsay Briggs
David Buckley
Maurice Burgess
Philip Buzzard
Benedict Carlisle
Anthony Chalkley
Thomas Chater
John Chomley
Anthony Clayden
Brian Cochrane
Sydney Collier
Ivan Cooper
Richard Cornwall
Wilfred Crockett
Rex Crosoer
John Cullum
John Dawson-Squibb
John Dekema
John de Mowbray
Hugh Drummond
Kenneth Drysdale
Michael Duggan
Alan Durose
Guye Fawkes
Eric Featonby-Smith
Stanley Forrester
Peter Franklin
Geoffrey Geerdts
Jeffrey Gishford
Walter Goldby
William Gowthorpe
Frank Graham-Bell

1939–1945 (*continued*)

Neil Graham-Bell
William Hagger
David Haggie
Raymond Hamlyn
Willoughby Harris
Geoffrey Hart-Davis
Allister Harvey
John Hickman
John Holgate
Errol Seymour-Hosley
John Hungerford
Hugh Isaac
John Ing
Meredith Jackson
Gordon Jamieson
Peter Jardine
Raymond Keeny
William Kelly
Peter Large
James Lawrie
Ronald Leach
Philip Lee
Murray McClung
Graham McFie
Roy McFie
Ian McKenzie
John McNaught-Davis
Beric Mansfield
Ronald Marshall
Clifford Mearns
John Methley
John Moir
Terry Monk
John Moor
Terence Morrison
Dorrien Norton
Philip Nourse
Frank Openshaw
Murray Otto
Wilfred Parry
Gerald Payn
Edward Popham
Rex Poynton
Robert Pryde
Clive Rawlinson
Henry Rawson
Hugo Reid
Mervyn Reim
Johann Rissik
Ian Robertson
Maurice Robertson
Robert Robertson
Richard Rose
Thomas Rose-Price
Charles St. Leger
Gerald Sedgwick
Ronald Selley
Robert Sharp
John Simpson
William Smerdon
Anthony Smith
Peter Somerset
Richard Southey
Harold Stevenson
George Strachan
Kelvin Strachan
Peter Susskind
Peter Sutton
Archibald Tatham
Kenneth Taylor
Ronald Thompson
Guy Tolmer
Rex Tomlinson
Robert Tomlinson
Paul Tylden-Wright
Dennis van der Linden
James Verney
Douglas Vivian
Eric Waters
Harold Webber
Frank White
Michael White
Roger Winlaw

II

Military Decorations

1914–1918

Lt. G. W. Janion (E. Surrey) D.S.O.
Lt. G. B. Russell (Wiltshire) D.S.O.
Capt. E. J. Greene (Suffolk Yeomanry) M.C. AND BAR.
Lt. G. M. Brown (12th Lancers) M.C.
Maj. G. Tatham (R.F.A.) M.C.
2nd Lt. W. Lister (R.F.A.) M.C.
Flt. Com. C. C. Tayler (R.F.C.) M.C.
Lt. H. W. Taylor (R.F.A.) M.C.
Flt. Lt. A. F. Brandon (R.N.A.S.) D.S.C.
Flt. Lt. K. M. Pennington (R.A.F.) A.F.C.
2nd Lt. B. W. Goodwin (S.A. Contingent) CROIX DE GUERRE AVEC PALME.

1932—Burma

T. R. Waller M.C.

1939–1945

Flight-Lieut. T. H. Archbell (R.A.F.) D.F.C.
Capt. C. H. H. Barry (S.A.A.F.) D.F.C.
Lieut. J. B. Booth (R.D.L.I.) M.C.
Flight-Lieut. D. C. Borland (R.A.F.) D.F.C.
Capt. E. M. Burchell (R.N.C.) AM. BRONZE STAR
Maj. N. Butcher (R.A.M.C.) M.B.E.
Flight-Lieut. G. F. Chater (R.A.F.) D.F.C.
Wing Com. H. A. Chater (R.A.F.) A.F.C.
Lieut. F. G. Chennels (U.M.R.) M.C.
Capt. B. Christopher (Argyll & Suth.) AM. SILVER STAR
J. A. Cottrell (Civil) O.B.E.
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